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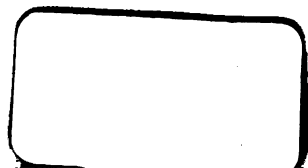
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ANNALS  
OF THE  
LORDS OF WARRINGTON  
AND  
BEWSEY

FROM 1587 TO 1833, WHEN WARRINGTON BECAME  
A PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH.

IN TWO PARTS.  
PART I. WARRINGTON. PART II. BEWSEY.

WITH  
NOTICES OF HISTORICAL AND LOCAL EVENTS.

BY  
WILLIAM BEAMONT, Esq.



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## P R E F A C E.

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“Now then, farewell! and still if you be wise  
Revere our sires, the gentle and the bold,  
Nor e'en on English soil neglect to prize  
The genuine relics of our great of old!”  
(ROWLAND WILLIAMS.)

THE annals contained in the following pages embrace the time between the years 1587 and 1833; in the former of which the nation in dignified preparation was awaiting the invasion of the Spanish armada; and in the latter the reform bill had just passed, after exciting an agitation which had disturbed the country almost as much as the dread of the armada had done. Between these two periods England passed through a series of events of the greatest importance in her history.

When the duke of Mayenne's officer, before the battle of Arques, jeeringly asked Henry of Navarre whether the small array he saw was the whole of the force with which he meant to engage the duke's great army, Henry calmly replied: “No sir, it is not all; for you have not reckoned God and a good cause, which are both on our side;” and such might have been queen Elizabeth's reply to Philip of Spain if, in the year when these annals begin,



she had been similarly questioned before the angry winds and waves, coming to the assistance of her seamen, had done their office and dispersed his "invincible fleet." If the admiral's fleet as he followed the enemy borrowed any of its wings from the sail-cloth made at Warrington, the place has an additional reason to take pride in the victory.

The sceptre next passed peacefully from the last Tudor to the first Stuart monarch, who shortly afterwards narrowly escaped the danger threatened by the gunpowder treason; but under his son that great civil war broke out which cost the monarch his life and in all but the name set Cromwell in his place. When the latter died and the sceptre had devolved to his son, *queen* Richard as he has been called, his hand proved too weak to grasp it, and for two troubled reigns the crown reverted to and remained with its old possessors until it was wrested from them by the revolution; it then passed to William of Orange, just a century after the overthrow of the armada. William by his skill and courage was enabled to guide the country through the dangers inseparable from so great an organic change, and from him the crown passed peaceably to queen Anne, whose reign was rendered illustrious by the victories of Marlborough. Scarcely however had her reign ended before the throne of her successor was threatened by the rebellion of 1715; and in thirty years after there occurred another rebellion, which, with the historian who wrote its history in Latin (the last that has appeared in that language), let us hope

will be the last rebellion the country will ever witness. Under George III. England gained her Indian empire, but she lost her American colonies, — a loss which India could not repair. If queen Mary could remember the loss of Calais to her dying day, the loss of the American colonies must have distressed him who lost them as much and as long. The protracted war with France into which England was drawn by the revolution ended in the great victories of Wellington and the fall of Napoleon. Under George IV. and William IV. the national contests, which were chiefly parliamentary, ended in the passing of that bill which is the terminal limit of these annals.

This brief review may suffice to show that the lords of Warrington and Bewsey in the period of these annals, if they desired it, would have abundant opportunities in the state of the times to serve their country and show their patriotism.

From the time when these annals begin Warrington passed successively through the Dudleys, the Irelands and the Booths to the Blackburnes its present owners ; and Bewsey passed through two different branches of the Irelands, the Athertons and the Gwillyms to the present noble owners, the house of Powys ; and it will appear in the subsequent pages that very few of these successive lords were deaf to the call of their country, or omitted to serve her either in the law, the camp, the senate or the court. If we canvass their various lives we shall find among the Dudleys that Leycester and his son, though clever and prominent, were rather notorious than famous

or to be esteemed ; while Warwick was the only one of their house who was good as well as great. Of the Irelands, sir Thomas, an active and successful lawyer, was rather to be admired than loved ; but his less aspiring son filled his place as a respected country gentleman, discharging the duties of his rank. Of the Booths, William, the first of them, died young, but all the others acted conspicuous parts, and won, not without much risk and many sufferings, honour and rank in troublesome and difficult times. Of the Blackburnes, John, the earliest of them, attained some eminence in literature and ranked high amongst horticulturists and naturalists ; and though he sought no parliamentary honours was of the utmost use to his neighbourhood, especially in the time of the last rebellion, and after living in great respect to a patriarchal age he died universally lamented. His grandson of the same name succeeded him as lord of the manor of Warrington, and for nearly half a century represented the great county of Lancaster in parliament. Sir Gilbert Ireland of Bewsey was essentially a public man, and abundant notices of him and his services will be found in the histories of the time. The Athertons and the Gwilyms who succeeded him, though they sat occasionally in parliament, were unfortunately cut off by illness at an early age ; and the noble family who succeeded them at Bewsey had before earned by their public services the coronets they deservedly wear.

Of all these men very few led an idle life. Of some of them, as Leycester and his son, their lives may be held

up to us as a warning; but most of the others may be placed before us as examples for our imitation. Happily if we will we may derive profit from warnings as well as from examples.

To the particulars of the lords of Warrington and Bewsey, which will be given in the following pages, it appears requisite here to add a few notices of some events which, though rather local than personal, seem necessary to render these annals more complete. Some entries in the Parish register, made while the Booths were lords of Warrington, invite our attention. The first of these informs us that in 1662 a collection was made for the royal fishing. In 1623 it had been thought a most desirable thing to encourage a home fishery, and in Frodsham church in that year a brief was read for "a decayed fishing haven." The troubles of the country since that time had thrown the fishery back, and the collection at Warrington, which was no doubt general, was intended to restore it; a similar collection at Frodsham at the same time is expressly stated to be for the purpose of "restoring the trade of fishing." Another collection at Warrington in the same year was made for the distressed protestants in Lithuania. The treaty of Oliva in 1660 had guaranteed these people an equality of rights and the free exercise of their religion, but they still suffered persecution and needed relief. (Campbell's *Frederic the Great*, pref. p. vii.) Cromwell, had he been alive, would have assisted these people more effectually than with money! After Louis XIV. in an evil hour had put his

seal to the revocation of the edict of Nantes many of his most industrious subjects took refuge in England, where it was thought fit to give them a brief in all the churches; but Jeffreys, whose province it was to sign it as chancellor, at first hesitated to do it. When that difficulty was at length overcome Dr. Burgess of Canterbury, alleging that it was contrary to the rubric, refused to read it, until Tillotson said to him, "Oh doctor, doctor, charity is above all rubrics," and so overcame his scruples. (Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. i. p. 626.) When the brief was read at Warrington in 1695 a large sum was collected, which spoke loudly for the sympathy of the people in its favour. In 1708 another collection was made for the protestants at Oberbarmen in the duchy of Berg in Germany, and two years later there was one for the building of a church at Mitton in Courland. These frequent collections for foreign protestants seem to show that the cause of protestantism recommended itself to the people. Three years later there was a house-to-house collection, but this time it was for the cow-keepers, from which it may be inferred that there had then occurred one of those periodical murrains among cattle which are sometimes thought to prognosticate a similar pestilence among our own species. Certain it is that only a few years afterwards when that fine regiment the Welsh fusileers which, having been first raised in 1688 had fought soon after at the battle of the Boyne and subsequently at Namour in 1693, was quartered at Warrington, a number of the men were attacked and carried off by an infectious disease just about a century

before the first outbreak of cholera at Warrington. In 1747, when there occurred another periodical visitation of the cattle murrain, a Yorkshire poetaster who probably knew as much as we now know about the disease thus versified his opinions and prayers upon that still mysterious subject :

“No Christian’s bull nor cow, they say,  
But takes it out of hand,  
And we shall have no cows at all  
I doubt within this land !

The doctors, tho’ they all have spoke  
Like learned gentlemen,  
And told us how the entrails look  
Of cattle dead and green,

Yet they can nothing do at all  
With all their learning’s store,  
So heaven drive out this plague away  
Nor vex us with it more !”

Our ancestors, who appear to have had very liberal ideas as to distances, certainly were not wont to give scant measure in such calculations. Thus in 1643 Warrington was declared to be only thirty-five miles from Lancaster, nineteen from Preston, thirteen from Liverpool, and twelve from Manchester. In 1658 it was said to be only twenty miles from Newcastle, twelve from Wigan, and forty-six from Lancaster. In 1713, though Ogilby in 1674 by the king’s command had made a mensuration of all the roads in England by the wheel, it was stated to be twenty-two miles from Preston ; but in 1720

distances were beginning to be better understood, for it is said that Warrington was only one hundred and thirty-six computed but one hundred and eighty-two measured miles from London, which last statement is very near the truth.

We are told that the Golden Grey of nineteen tons sailed from Liverpool on the 8th June 1586, having on board a few bales of poledavies, that is sail-cloth, made at Warrington. (Baines's *Liverpool*, p. 245.) This cloth, which is mentioned by Howell a writer in the civil war times (Jonson's *Dictionary*), would appear from this passage in an old play to have been used like buckram to make suits stiff :

"Tailor Poldavis, prithee fit it, fit it: is this a right Scot? does it clip close and bear up round?"

*Poldavis*. Fine and stiffly. I' faith 'twill keepe your thighes so coole, and make your wast so small; here was a fault in your body, but I have supplied the defect, with the effect of my steek instrument, which tho' it have but one eye, can see to rectify the imperfection of the proportion."

(Marston's *Dramatic Works*, vol. iii., "Eastward Hoe.")

In 1711 Warrington is said to have a plentiful market for corn, cattle and linen cloth. (*Travellers' Guide*.) But in 1720 another traveller describes the place as having a particular market for linens called huckabacks, of which 500*l.* worth are sold every market day; and then he adds, what surprises us, that in the river are caught sturgeons, green-backs, *mulletts*, *seals*, sand-eels, *lobsters*, *oysters*, *shrimps*, *prawns*, and the best and largest *cockles*

in England, with other shell-fish and *muscles*, in such abundance that they use to manure the land with them!

The year 1672 saw king Charles II. assuming the right to dispense with acts of parliament, and we find him in pursuance of this unconstitutional power issuing a license dated in April of that year to the presbyterians of Warrington to use for their place of worship a room or rooms in the court house there. (Hume's *Hist. Eng.*, vol. vii. p. 476.)

In the year 1700 we find that horse races had been established at Warrington, and in 1750 and 1761 we find that they were still continued. In the former of these years they were fixed to be held in Latchford on the 19th and 20th July, and in the latter year there must have been great preparations for them, for there was a grand stand erected to which persons were admitted by bronze tickets, one of which, numbered 240, is still preserved in a private museum of the neighbourhood.

In the course of the long life of the first John Blackburne so many local events occurred that this preface would seem incomplete without a short notice of some of them.

So early as the year 1704 Mathew Henry going to London on the 6th April says: "The Warrington coach that was with them (that is with his party) was set fast by the badness of the ways;" and in Farquhar's *Beaux' Stratagem*, which was first acted in 1707, Boniface the Lichfield landlord comes upon the stage hastily, and lustily calling to his servants that the Warrington coach



is come in and that the passengers are standing in the hall waiting to be attended to. It was such a coach as this which good Mathew Henry had seen stuck fast by the badness of the roads, a casualty to which it was very likely to be helped by its unwieldy size and great cum-brousness. The old fly wagon, a sort of heavy machine resembling a Noah's ark, with nothing of the fly about it but the name which lingered upon some of the cross roads at the beginning of this century, was the descendant of this early Warrington coach which, on its journey from Warrington to London, like that from Chester to the same place, probably occupied about five days. Then, and for more than half a century afterwards, although an act had passed some time before for improving the road from Liverpool to Prescot, travellers from the former place desiring to meet the London coach rode over to Warrington the night before, as it approached no nearer Liverpool than that place. (Smiles's *Engineer*, p. 366.) But in 1757 the demand for travelling accommodation had so increased that contracts were then entered into for making a good road from Bold heath to Sankey pavement (Baines's *Liverpool*, p. 423); and in the same year "the Warrington flying stage coach" was announced to make the journey to London in three days, to which it was piously added "if God permit." (*Advertisement in the Warrington Museum*; Baines's *Liverpool*, p. 424.)

To this might very properly have been added a protest against those highwaymen and robbers, who at the

time of the *Beaux' Stratagem* and long afterwards were so a serious terror to travellers as even that play shows.

Three years afterwards, "the Manchester, Warrington, Prescot and Liverpool machine" was advertised to start at six in the morning and to make the journey between the two termini *in a day*. (*Advertisement in the Warrington Museum*.) A short time after it was made known that the coach would start an hour later in the morning, and that the passengers would *dine* at Warrington. (Baines's *Liverpool*, p. 444.) But in 1781 the journey by coach from Liverpool to London was announced to be performed in forty-eight hours, or just one-third less time than it formerly occupied. (*Ibid.* p. 460.)

The mails however continued to be carried by post-boys until several of them were robbed and one or more of them were murdered, after which an example was made of the highwaymen by gibbeting their bodies, several of which ghastly memorials remained in this neighbourhood within living memory.

In the year 1717 the spirited men of Cheshire obtained an act for making the river Weaver navigable, of which, when it was afterwards amended, Mr. Blackburne was one of the commissioners for settling disputes. But before this and even so early as 1712 a survey had been made of the rivers Mersey and Irwell, and in 1720 an act was obtained for making them navigable from Liverpool to Hunt's bank, a spot very near to the place where about a century later the Liverpool and Manchester railway company fixed their station.

The improvement of the river under this act must have been very imperfect however, for on the 7th February 1753 the sloop Sacharissa, of sixty tons burden and very appropriately laden with sugar, was wrecked near Sankey after she had been eight days on the voyage from Liverpool, — as long a time as it now takes to cross the Atlantic.

In 1755, with a view of bringing coals nearer the consumer, the Sankey canal, the first of the kind ever made in England, was cut; though the Grand canal du Midi of France, a great work which connects the Atlantic with the Mediterranean, preceded it by nearly a century.

Three years after the formation of the Sankey canal, and when the duke of Bridgewater had obtained the act for making his celebrated canal, which was not opened for ten years afterwards, Mr. Blackburne was made a commissioner for settling any disputes that might arise under it.

As early as the year 1588 one of the Warrington land-owners, sir Peter Legh, had in his pay a company of players who itinerated through the neighbourhood. When they performed at Gawthorpe in the October of that year they received for their performance the moderate sum of 5s. (*Shuttleworth Accounts*, Chetham soc.) In 1606 the earl of Derby furnished a similar company with this certificate to the mayor of Chester :

“This companey beinge my Lor. of Harforth his men and haveinge beine w<sup>th</sup> mee, whose retorne and abode for this Christmas tyme I expecte, I ame to desire that if theire occatione

bee to come to the cittie that youe will p'mitt them to use their  
quallatie. Lathome my howse this 11<sup>th</sup> of December 1606.

Your loving frënd,

Postscript.

WILL. DERBY.

I would request you to lett them  
have the towne hall to playe in.

Ite vale.

To his loveinge frende the maior of the cittie of Chester.

Theese deliver."

*(From the original in the possession of Charles Potts esquire.)*

In the year 1621 however the earl seems to have  
had a company of his own who performed at Congleton  
and were paid for it 1*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* (*Congleton Corporation  
Books.*)

Some of these companies of actors it is probable from  
time to time visited Warrington, and in 1727 we find that  
the presence there of such a company betrayed two staid  
Scottish elders into a difficulty. The story, as told by Dr.  
Doran, is that returning from London after presenting an  
address to George II. on his accession these gentlemen,  
being detained for one night at Warrington, went to see  
a play of Congreve's performed; but their movements  
were watched, and the news of their offence having  
reached the presbytery they were called before it, and  
after having pleaded in palliation of their offence that as  
they were strangers in that town they supposed their  
example could do no harm, they were reprimanded and  
discharged.

In 1756, a company of actors being again in the place  
at a time when there was much sickness and distress

there, Dr. Fothergill, who has recorded the presence of the actors, seems to doubt whether it had not had some share in causing the sickness and distress. But in 1780, when there was another company performing in a temporary theatre near the Market-place, Miss Kemble (afterwards the celebrated Mrs. Siddons) made her débüt on that humble stage as a tragic actress—a circumstance which is worthy to be recorded. But even the rising of such a theatrical star failed to reconcile the resident justice of the peace to the drama, for in 1786, when another very celebrated performer, Mr. Munden, was acting at Warrington, the angry magistrate wrote him this peremptory letter :

“ Warrington, 22 May, 1786.

Mr. Munden :— I have had a play bill put into my hand this morning. I see an advantage has been taken of my absence from home. After what has passed the two last summers I think myself exceedingly ill-used. If any play is attempted to be performed in this place, I will send my constable to stop the performance. It is my determination to enforce the laws of my country.

A. B.”

In the year 1742 the Rev. Dr. Charles Owen, the unitarian minister at Warrington, wrote his very learned work on *Serpents*, which, dating his preface from Warrington, he dedicated to sir Hans Sloane. The fame of his learning may have afterwards had its effect in leading the nonconformist body in 1757 to select Warrington as the fittest place in which to establish their college or school, called Warrington academy ; an institution which met with some success and continued to be carried on

there until the year 1784, when it was removed to Manchester. During its continuance at Warrington, besides the learned Edward Owen then head master of the grammar school and rector of the parish, a number of other learned and scientific persons, drawn by the academy to Warrington, gave a high tone to the literary and social character of the place. Among them may be reckoned Dr. Taylor the author of the *Hebrew Concordance*, the Rev. John Aikin, Dr. Priestley a pioneer in the discoveries in electricity and chemistry, Dr. Enfield, the Rev. Gilbert Wakefield the very eminent classical scholar, Dr. Aikin, and Miss Aikin, afterwards Mrs. Barbauld the poetess. (Marsh's *Lit. Hist. Warrington in the Eighteenth Century*.)

In March 1756 Thomas and William Eyres issued the first number of their weekly journal called *The Warrington Advertiser*, a very early periodical and which was at one time believed to have been the first Lancashire newspaper. The publishers were probably the grandsons of Henry Eyres, a Warrington bookseller in 1704, and whose name again appears on the titlepage of a book in 1712. William Eyres found the academy a most useful auxiliary and a great source of support. The professors edited and he printed several editions of the Classics and a great number of other works, by which in the end he obtained a high place among the printers of the day. John Howard the philanthropist, Pennant the antiquary, and Mr. Watson the author of the *History of the Earls of Warren and Surrey* (a work which is still reckoned

as one of the finest specimens of provincial typography) were amongst the writers who committed their works to Mr. Eyres's press.

In 1760 the taste for books and literature led to the foundation of the Warrington public library, which, though one of the earliest of such institutions in the county, after existing for more than a century still continues to flourish, and has now been adopted as the free library of Warrington.

In the year 1757 the Parish books contain notices of the excommunication of several of the inhabitants by the authority of the bishop's court. The offences were such as would now be redressed by the courts of common law, although some of them, such as that of slander for instance, seem still to need a better corrective than is offered by the ordinary courts.

In 1647 colonel John Booth had given Warrington its town bell which has ever since rung the nightly curfew there; and in 1706, as good example is infectious, another benefactor presented to the town a bell which is inscribed as follows: "DEO ET ECCLESIAE DEDICAVIT JOHANNES BLACKBURNE SS. T. P. HALLELUJAH. HENRICUS PENN FECIT 1706."

On the 14th July 1750 the celebrated traveller Dr. Richard Pocock records a visit he had paid to Warrington, which he says is a considerable town with a manufacture of sail-cloth, and has near it a smelting house for copper ore, brought thither from Cornwall, which is first cast into pigs, after which some of it is sent to Holy-

well to be beaten into plates, and the rest is sent to Cheadle in Staffordshire to be made into brass; and then he adds that Thomas Patten esquire is building his house called Bank hall, the foundations of which, according to Mr. Pennant, were formed of copper dross cast in moulds and set like masonry. (*Additional MSS.*, No. 15800, fol. 6, Brit. Mus.) Gibbs, the well-known architect, was the designer of the house and also of Trinity chapel in Warrington built shortly after it.

Another traveller who visited Warrington in 1769 tells us that it had a considerable manufacture of sail-cloth, a large house for smelting copper, a house for making flint glass and another for bottle glass (which had been set up not long before by Mr. Seaman), a sugar house, a brewery of beer for exportation, and a manufactory of huckabacks.

The celebrated Arthur Young, who visited Warrington the same year, says there is in the town a very considerable manufacture of sail-cloth and sacking. The flax is spun by women and girls, who earn about 2*d.* a day, bleached by men at 10*s.* a week, wound by women at 2*s.* 6*d.* a week, warped by men at 7*s.* a week, starched at 10*s.* 6*d.* a week, and woven by men at 9*s.*, women at 5*s.*, and boys at 3*s.* 6*d.* a week. The manufacture of sail-cloth employs three hundred and the sacking one hundred and fifty weavers. They reckon twenty spinners and two or three other hands to every weaver, and the total number of hands employed in the manufacture is about eleven thousand (but of these the larger number must



have been living not in the town but the outskirts). Between two and three hundred children were employed in the pin manufactory.

The first John Blackburne of Orford having died in 1786 was succeeded by his grandson of both his names, who seems to have inherited the tastes of his ancestor, since we find him elected a fellow of the Linnæan as well as of the Royal society.

During the American war of independence we are told that one half the sail-cloth used in the royal navy was made at Warrington, and the effect, as might be expected, was to make the traders in sail-cloth suddenly rich. But this was not its only consequence, for they seemed to enjoy almost a monopoly, and such a monopoly produced the usual effect of protection in making the traders inattentive to the movement which was going on to spin flax and hemp and weave cloth by improved machinery; and this is the more remarkable since, as early as 1767, sir Richard Arkwright and Kay the Warrington clockmaker had been employed there, endeavouring to complete the machines which afterwards made Arkwright's fortune and gained him honour.

The American war being over there came a lull in the demand for sail-cloth, during which the manufacturers, unable "to fish," should have employed their time in "mending their nets," but they neglected so to use it; meanwhile the cotton manufacturers saw in Warrington a favourable seat for their industry, and Messrs. Peel in 1787, though before strangers to the place, set up in

Latchford, which is part of the town, the first steam engine ever erected to work a cotton factory in the neighbourhood, and cotton ultimately supplanted linen as one of the staples of Warrington. (*Hist. Lanc.*, vol. iii. p. 681.)

Another step being needed to improve the navigation of the river Mersey by avoiding the constant neaps which occurred between Runcorn and Warrington, an act was obtained in 1794 for making the Old Quay canal, which would enable vessels to pass between those two places without depending on the tides of the river. To this measure, a benefit to the country generally and to this neighbourhood in particular, Mr. Blackburne gave a hearty and most useful support. The canal was completed and opened for traffic in 1801.

Those occasional visits of travellers to Warrington, which we have noticed from time to time, have given us a glimpse of its various manufactures. The visit which we are now to notice differs from those however in affording us no such useful information, but giving us instead a picture of the town as it appeared to a traveller labouring under a fit of the spleen, but ending with that which, interpreted by the subsequent introduction of railways (*chemins de fer* as the French call them), looks like a prophecy. Miss Berry, the traveller in question, says of Warrington in 1808, that "it is a large, dirty, black, bustling narrow-streeted town, with a number of canals on all sides, and the road from thence to Chorley is a positive *chemin ferré*."

On the 12th April 1810 that useful public institution which has since so well served the cause of charity, the Warrington dispensary, was opened for the first time for patients; and on the 29th March following the Warrington institution for the cultivation of science, literature and the arts was established, and Mr. Blackburne became its first president.

In the year 1812 a small steam vessel was seen passing Warrington from Manchester by the Mersey, a curiosity which harbingered the dawn of what has since become the greatest of modern achievements in voyaging by sea.

On the 7th May 1815 the Warrington savings' bank, a prudent help to those habits of frugality and thrift which originate in self-denial and lies therefore at the root of all virtue, was opened; and on the 13th March 1821 the town was first lighted with gas. Mr. Windsor, who was the earliest person to suggest this great material improvement, lived for a short time in Warrington before he launched his plans for the mode of lighting towns by gas; and afterwards, when these proved successful, this epigram celebrated the event:

“Eton to Windsor now must yield,  
Nor deem the step a degradation,  
For though she rules the classic field,  
*Windsor* illumines all the nation.”

On the 5th December 1825 the first general meeting of the Warrington mechanics' institute was held, and in 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester railway, the first link

of that great iron network which has since made travelling so easy, was opened, and upon that occasion one of the engines was driven by Mr. Allcard, a much respected inhabitant of Warrington, now, alas ! no more.

At the beginning of the period embraced by these annals the manufacture of poledavies and other linen goods with the making of malt and the brewing of beer were the only trades mentioned as then existing in Warrington. Of these the manufacture of poledavies and linens, which before it left the place had long ceased to be remunerative, is now only traditional ; but the malting and brewing trade still retains its ancient local fame, and is yet great and flourishing. All the other businesses of Warrington which have been mentioned (except pin-making which is dwindling away) have now entirely left the place ; the copper works, the sugar works and the rosin works are no more ; but the spinning and weaving of cotton, the drawing of iron, steel and copper wire, the rolling of boiler plates, the cutting of the best files in the world, the making of chemicals and the manufacture of soap, with some other important trades, have abundantly supplied their place. The next age is destined to see the head more employed and the hands less, the machine doing its work and the labourer being employed in directing it ; let us hope that the result will be an equally great advance in moral, social and intellectual improvement.

The act by which Warrington was raised to the rank of a parliamentary borough having passed in 1832, we

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have reached the period at which we proposed to pause ; and to some future annalist here we leave the work of recording the many great events and important changes that have since occurred in Warrington, and which mark its steady advance in the path of material wealth and importance.

I cannot however close this preface without expressing my obligations to the right honourable lord LILFORD, JOHN IRELAND BLACKBURNE and THOMAS ELLAMES WORTHINGTON esquires, for their great kindness in permitting me to inspect their deeds and muniments, which have enabled me to add much of the original matter which is to be found in these annals.

W. B.

*June 12, 1873.*

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PART I.

WARRINGTON.

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“Where winding Mersey pours his narrowed tide  
Its friendly ford an ancient town supplied ;  
The well-known pass that link'd in early time  
Mercia's wide realm to proud Northumbria's clime,  
Dear to the olden heroes and afar  
Fam'd, as the needful post of ceaseless war.  
In milder days as o'er Britannia's isle  
Her happy plains in peaceful culture smile.  
Here studious art a structured union yields  
To Cestrian vales and high Lancastria's fields ;  
Calls o'er the stream th' admiring south to see  
The pomp and pride of northern industry.”

*(Lines by the late J. Fitchett, Esq. )*

*THE LORDS OF WARRINGTON*  
*SINCE 1587.*

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CHAPTER I.

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ON the death of Edward Boteler the barony of Warrington with the rest of the Boteler estates fell into the hands of Robert Dudley earl of Leycester, who now made haste to clutch what he had so long coveted. He was remotely of kin to the Botelers through the Suttons, and he did not scruple occasionally to use their name, (*Lanc. Lieut.*, vol. lvii, Chetham soc.,) which sir Philip Sidney says had been the original name of his family until it was changed to Dudley by an ancestor, who had married lord Dudley's daughter, after that nobleman, by bringing home for burial the body of Henry V. from France, had brought, as the old Romans would have said, a noble image into his house. As the earl was now lord of the barony of Warrington, some account of him and his antecedents will not be out of place. He was the fifth son of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, and was born on the 24th June 1532. Handsome in his youth he grew up to be as handsome a man, and his fine person, which he preserved through life, he set off by an easy address and the most courtly manners, which, especially in the eyes of the queen, proved to him a great recommendation. We are not told



where he received the rudiments of his education, but we know that he had early acquired a competent knowledge of Latin, and was thoroughly acquainted with Italian. Whilst still a mere boy his grace in jousting and his skill in martial exercises were so remarkable that they very early procured for him the honour of knighthood. He made his first essay in real warfare in 1549 when he was but seventeen, and accompanied his father to suppress an insurrection in Norfolk ; but, though begun thus early, his military education never made him a proficient in the art of war, for we have it on the testimony of his nephew, sir Philip Sidney, no unfriendly witness, that he was to the last an incompetent commander. Nor can we think the words which escaped him at Alkmaer, when, news being brought him that the confederates had sustained a reverse, he, instead of taking heart, exclaimed, "'Tis high time to take care of my head," and soon afterwards quitted the Low Countries and returned to England, were the words or actions of a brave man. (*Life of Leicester*, p. 271.) It was said of him that he was the son of a duke, the brother of a king, the grandson of an esquire, that Edmund Dudley the colleague of Empson "the caterpillar" as he was called "of the commonwealth," and the great-grandson of a carpenter, and that the last named was the only honest man in the family and the only one of them who died in his bed. Like the rest of his family he entered upon political life almost as soon as he did upon military affairs. In the year 1550, when he married Amy Robsart the daughter of sir John Robsart, with whose story the readers of sir Walter Scott are familiar, the young king, who had made him his chief carver with a salary of 50*l.* a year, graced the marriage ceremony with his presence. The duke, whose influence with the king he abused, very soon taught his son to practise deceit and become a spy on the king's actions, and immediately upon the monarch's demise, on the 7th July 1553, the son rode away with all haste at the head of a troop of horse with a view to seize the person of the princess Mary ; but being balked of his prize, the princess having fled, he took possession of the town of

Lynn in the name of his sister, lady Jane Grey, and had her there proclaimed queen of England. If he had succeeded in obtaining possession of the princess he might perhaps have changed the succession to the throne of England. For this treasonable but unsuccessful attempt he was arrested, sent to the tower, and soon afterwards tried for high treason and condemned to death. Having great interest however, he obtained his pardon in the following year and was set at liberty ; and being at this time a zealous Romanist was afterwards made master of the ordnance to Philip and Mary. But his religion must have been of the chameleon's hue, for no sooner had Elizabeth ascended the throne than he professed himself a zealous Protestant, and was made her master of the horse with a salary of one hundred marks a year.

In the year 1559 he was installed a knight of the garter, sworn a privy councillor and sent on the queen's service to Scotland. In the following year his wife, Amy Robsart, came to her death suddenly at Cumnor hall, under circumstances which were so mysterious that people could not help entertaining a suspicion that her death was not accidental. In the year 1562 he obtained from his royal mistress a grant of the castle and manor of Kenilworth, with Astel grove in Warwickshire, and the lordships, manors and castles of Denbigh and Chirk ; and very soon afterwards he had a grant investing him with unusual powers as keeper of the queen's park at Windsor. From these grants we may see how high he stood in the queen's favour.

How completely he had won his royal mistress's favour is shown by a commission with which he was entrusted, and for which by his fine person and courtly address he was well fitted. The two houses of the Middle and Inner temple had each claimed to be entitled to Lyon's inn, and the dispute had begun to run so high that the queen thought it best to interfere between these "wrath-kindled gentlemen," and she commissioned Dudley to hear both parties and settle the question ; and having his orders he decided that the right to the disputed property was with the

Inner temple. Upon which, to show their gratitude, they ordered that no person of their society should at any time thereafter be retained of counsel against him or his heirs, and that in his honour his arms should be set up in their hall. But the victors were not content until they had shown a still further mark of their gratitude, and when they held their next Christmas annual revel and played high jinks and altitudes with more than "ordinary festivity, they made lord Robert Dudley their president, with the lofty title of Pallaphilos prince of Sophie, high constable, marshal of the knights templars, and patron of the honourable order of Pegasus. The mock prince had his lord chancellor, lord treasurer, lord privy seal, chief justices of the queen's bench and common pleas, his chief baron of the exchequer, his steward of the household, chief butler, master of the game, master of the revels, lieutenant of the tower, carver, and ranger of the forests and sewers. Amongst these were many celebrated lawyers, and one at least who afterwards sat on the woolsack. There were other officers of this high court, and the prince had four score members of the inn assigned to him as his body guard ; and sir William Dugdale has not thought it beneath the gravity of history to record the pompous ceremonial of the occasion. Banquets were served to the sound of drums and fifes ; the boar's head was brought in upon a silver dish, followed by a procession of gentlemen, with trumpeters and other musicians. There was a play and a masque acted in the hall, which the ladies deigned to grace with their presence. The array of the court was splendid, and the aspect of the prince, wearing an elaborate and richly-wrought suit of gilt armour and a helmet and plumes, and bearing a gilt poleaxe, was superb. At his side as he walked in procession was his lieutenant of the tower in silver armour, with a helmet, plumes and a poleaxe. They were preceded by sixteen trumpeters, four drummers, a company of fifers, and four men in white armour with halberds. The procession moved thrice round the hall making noise enough to deafen the whole court and company ; and then, at the request of his mock lord chancellor, the

prince, laying aside his poleaxe and sword, and we must suppose his helmet also, took his seat ; which done, one of the lawyers—who afterwards really sat in the marble chair—entered in a complete suit of green velvet, with a bow, quiver and arrows of the same colour, and a hunting horn round his neck. He was attended by the master of the forest and two others, who blew on their horns three blasts of venery, and then, kneeling before the prince's chancellor, asked leave to serve his mighty master. After this, upon a given signal, a huntsman entered the room, bringing with him hounds and a fox, which, strange to say, the dogs hunted and killed in the hall. After this we may say that our legal ancestors were not very refined in their amusements." (Jeaffreson's *Book about Lawyers*, vol. ii. p. 55 ; where many more particulars are given of this revel.)

To the royal smiles Dudley probably owed the further advancement he received in 1568 when he was raised to the high stewardship of the university of Cambridge ; and the next year, when the queen visited the university, he had the honour of welcoming her there. On the 28th September 1564 he was raised to the peerage as baron Denbigh, and the next day was created earl of Leycester. On the 31st December in the same year he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, where learning was then at so low an ebb that one Sunday, there being no preacher at St. Mary's, the mayor (who was in deacon's orders) mounted the pulpit and harangued his hearers thus : " Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's, on the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits baked in the oven of charity, carefully preserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation." Leycester however, who loved learning, soon put an end to this disorder, and established such discipline as in time restored the character of the university ; and two years afterwards when the queen visited it he had the honour of receiving her. To have attained so distinguished a position in both the learned universities, and to have received the sovereign at both, was perhaps an

honour no other man ever enjoyed. It was on the occasion of this visit to Oxford that, when Dr. Humphreys, who was known to be violently opposed to ecclesiastical habits, approached in his doctor's gown to kiss her majesty's hand, she was heard to say to him: "Mr. Doctor, that loose gown becomes you so mighty well, that I wonder your notions should be so narrow."

In 1565 the duke of Norfolk going into his own county to keep Christmas, the earl and his brother the earl of Warwick attended him with great state; and in 1567 the king of France having offered to elect such two of the queen's nobles as she should select to be knights of St. Michael, her majesty nominated the duke of Norfolk to be one and the earl of Leycester the other. Such an access of honour and fortune was dangerous; he seemed indeed at this time to be really an *enfant gâté de fortune*. The earl had taken for his chaplain William Chadderton, master of Queen's college, Oxford, afterwards bishop of Lincoln; and in 1569 the chaplain intending to marry wrote to ask his patron's advice upon it, which he probably intended as a delicate piece of flattery to him. The patron wrote him a sensible reply to his letter, which has been printed in the *Hist. Lanc.* (vol. ii. p. 356.) In 1571, having obtained an act of parliament for the purpose (13 Elizabeth, c. 17), the earl founded his celebrated hospital for old men at Warwick, and erected for it the quaint but singularly picturesque building, which is still one of the great ornaments of that fine old county town.

In the year 1572, unless Mr. Camden is mistaken, lord Burghleigh and the earl of Leycester were invited to be present at the marriage of the king of Navarre with the princess Margaret, the French king's sister. If they had gone they might have heard with their dying breath the zealot crying as he ran frantically through the streets of Paris on that fatal St. Bartholomew's eve:

"Saignez, saignez, la saignée est aussi bonne,  
Au mois d'Aôut qu'au mois de Mai!"

"Arise, arise, arise, let blood and slay;  
'Tis good to bleed in August as in May!"

To Leycester's honour he wrote to the queen's ambassador on hearing of the massacre a letter expressing his great horror at the event, as well as his indignant reprobation of those who had caused it.

In continual apprehension of an invasion from Spain the queen, in the early part of her reign, very wisely ordered that her officers and forces should always be prepared and ready to oppose it, and on the 28th February 15 Elizabeth (1573) she issued most full and minute instructions to the lord-lieutenants of the several counties directing how the troops should be mustered and arrayed, which instructions were signed by the earl of Leycester as one of the privy council. (*Lanc. Lieut.*, p. xxxiv, Chetham soc.)

In 1573 the earl married privately in Canon row the lady Douglas Howard, widow of lord Sheffield and daughter of lord William Howard of Effingham, and Robert Dudley the earl's son (of whom we shall hear more hereafter) was his only child by this or any of his marriages.

In 1575 the queen paid her celebrated visit to the earl at Kenilworth, where she was entertained at boundless expense and with such magnificence of shows, pageants and banquets as none who have read sir Walter Scott's celebrated story of that name can have forgotten. The royal visit lasted ten, or according to others seventeen, days, and must have drained Leycester's exchequer however full.

On the 20th March 1577, when the council again wrote a letter to the earl of Derby, the lord lieutenant, directing him to muster and train a body of three hundred men in Lancashire, the letter was again signed by Leycester as one of the council. (*Lanc. Lieut.*, vol. i. p. 92, Chetham soc.)

In 1578 he married at Wansted house Lettice Knollys, the widowed countess of Essex. Although his former marriage with lady Sheffield, who was still living, had been solemnized secretly it was well known in the court, and though he now chose to deny it the denial deceived none but those who did not know him. Such a flagrant defiance of law and decency gave occasion to

the courtiers who *did* know him to call the two wives, somewhat profanely, Leycester's "old and new testament." (*Athenæum*, p. 142, 1870.) That such an outrage should have gone unpunished casts a stain upon the times in which it happened.

In the indenture of the 12th May 1581, between the earl and Edward Boteler, there is an express grant from the latter to the earl of all such lands as he had in the county of Chester, and as he had no lands in Cheshire but those which belonged to the grammar school this grant was meant to convey those lands to the earl as "concealed," and under that character the earl meant to lay claim to them when the occasion should arise. His drag-net was made large enough to catch the small as well as the large prey.

Having now reached the period when the transactions between the earl and Edward Boteler began we shall not refer to them again, except perhaps in a few instances where it may be necessary to notice something that may have been omitted.

On the 25th February 1582 the queen by her letters patent granted to Edmund Downing and Peter Ashton all those her great tithes in the townships of Woolston and Poulton, in the parish of Warrington. As that parish had never been appropriated either to a monastery or other corporate body, the reader may naturally ask how these tithes came to be a lay fee separate from the rest of the parish, and to be now the property of her majesty. The history of this severance, which was very ancient, is as follows :

Soon after the Conquest, when Roger de Poictou was lord paramount of Warrington and this part of Lancashire, and when arbitrary consecrations of tithes were permitted — that is, when a man, though bound to pay his tithes somewhere, was allowed to direct where they should be paid, and so instead of paying them to his own parish church might direct them to go to some monastery where special prayers should be made for his soul and the souls of his family — Roger de Poictou, who was of the Shrewsbury family, thought proper to give the great tithes of

the above townships to the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Shrewsbury, to purchase for him and his family the vicarious prayers of that great house. This, like other monastic property, at the Reformation fell to the crown, and Downing and Ashton, two wholesale hunters for concealed lands who belonged to the party of such hunters, now purchased them from the queen. One or both of them had grants of such lands in Hucknall Torchard, Byron's place of burial, in Nottinghamshire, in Tamworth in Staffordshire, in some places of Essex, and possibly in many other places which we do not know of. (Thoroton's *Hist. Notts.*, vol. i. p. 270, vol. iii. p. 141; Erdswicke's *Staffordshire*, and Morant's *Hist. Essex*, vol. ii. p. 215.) But their purchase of the tithes in Woolston and Poulton had no doubt been suggested to them by the earl of Leycester, for on the 17th December in the same year they conveyed them to him towards the endowment of his new hospital at Warwick. The earl at this time was also lavishing vast sums on the old castle of the Lacies in Denbigh, a grand ruin which he was anxious to restore and make habitable; and also on the church near it, whose great carcase still remaining unfinished strikes whoever sees it with surprise.

It was about the year 1582, and in connection with the earl's proceedings at Denbigh, where he had made himself unpopular with his neighbours by his arbitrary conduct, that he sent to ask sir Richard Bulkeley to wait upon him. Sir Richard coming into his chamber the earl began to reproach him with the several wrongs which he pretended to have received at his hands, and amongst the rest with the loss of 10,000*l.*, which he said sir Richard's opposition had cost him. He ended his discourse however by an invitation, which sir Richard accepted, to dine with him; but remembering sir Nicholas Throgmorton who was said to have received "a fig" at his table, sir Richard was careful to eat and drink nothing but what he had first seen the earl taste. (*Hist. Denbigh*, p. 10.) The story about Throgmorton's death was that supping with Leycester, who owed him a grudge for saying that while he was ambassador in France he



had heard at the duke de Montmorency's table that the queen was about to marry her horse keeper, he was suddenly seized with a violent attack of the lungs, of which he died in Leycester's house in a few days, not without suspicion of poison. (*Life of Robert, earl of Leycester*, pp. 79, 80.) So many persons besides Amy Robsart his first wife, lady Sheffield his second, the earl of Essex his third wife's first husband, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Mrs. Alice Draycot, Mr. Ardern of Warwickshire, and Mr. Simier, having been either removed opportunely for the earl, or been practised upon by him and suffered at his hands, it was very difficult to persuade the world that he was not familiar with and did not scruple for his own ends to use dark arts and deadly deeds. Of Leycester and his poisonings and poisoners, and of his and their giving to those he hated what was called a fig, the stories were manifold. In 1584 there appeared a pamphlet, erroneously ascribed to Parsons the jesuit, called *Leycester's Commonwealth*, in which he was openly charged with these and other enormities. The work contained much that was true, and more that was plausible, and by it Leycester and his friends were stung to the quick. Some defenders however came to his support, and amongst them his nephew, sir Philip Sidney, a truly noble champion who was worthy of a better cause. He stood up manfully for Leycester, who yet needed all and more than all that he and others could say in his behalf, and who, least of all men, could exclaim—

“Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis.”

In vain however had Sidney used his ablest pen to blot out the stains of his uncle's character. They remained indelible, and notwithstanding that the queen's council on the 20th June in the following year branded the pamphlet as a libel, and wrote a letter to the magistrates of Cheshire warning them against it as false, it was still believed, and the council would have found it easier by a royal mandate to put down pretended miracles at a saint's tomb than to clear the earl's character; and accordingly

much still continued to be written about him by his adversaries, and their statements, rather than his defenders', continued to be trusted. (*Lansdowne MSS.*, vol. lxvii. p. 13; D'Israeli's *Amenities of Literature*, vol. ii. p. 315; Bliss's Notes to Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. coll. 74, 75; Cooke Taylor's *Romantic Biography of the Age of Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 115; Notes to Scott's *Kenilworth*, vol. i. pp. x. 395, 397; *Notes and Queries*, 1854, pp. 105, 397.)

On the 20th June 1586, while the earl was still in the Low Countries, Burleigh wrote to him as follows:

"In Ireland all things be quiet and a number of gentlemen of Somerset, Devon, Dorset, Cheshire, and Lancashire, are making themselves ready to go to Munster, where there will be two to three thousand more English this year." (*Leycester Correspondence*, Camden Soc., where the editor says Stowe gives the names of these gentlemen.)

In the same year by accepting, without the queen's consent, the office of governor and captain-general of the Low Countries, he excited her strong disapprobation, and she wrote him the following indignant letter:

"Howe contemptuously we conceive ourselfe to have been used by you, you shall by this bearer (sir Thomas Heneage) understand, whom we have expressly sent unto you to charge you withall. We could never have imagined, had we not seen it fall out in experience, that a man rayased uppe by ourselfe and extraordinarily favoured by us above anie other subject of this land would have in so contemptible a sort broken our commandment, in a cawse that so greatly toucheth us in honor; whereof although you have shewed yourselfe to make but little accompt, in most undutifull a sort you may not therefore thinck that we have so little care of the reparation thereof, as we mynd to passe so great a wrong in sylence unredressed, and therefore our express pleasure and commandment is, that all delays and excuses layd apart, you doe presently upon the dutie of your allegiance, obey and fulfil whatsoever the bearer hereof shall direct you to do in our name; whereof faile you not as you will answer the contrarye at your uttermost perill."

Immediately after receiving this letter Leycester returned home and saw the queen at Richmond, on the 23rd November 1586, and as often before so now he made his peace with his offended mistress. Perhaps it was sooner made on this occasion from the queen, who loved a gallant exploit, sympathising with him in the loss he had lately sustained in the death of sir Philip Sidney of the wound he had received at Zutphen.

## CHAPTER II.

NO sooner had Edward Boteler been laid in his grave, about November 1586, than Leycester hastened to take possession of his estates, and on the 8th March following he obtained from the queen the coveted extension of the Great Sankey lease; and soon afterwards by a deed dated in the 29 Elizabeth (1587), (the day of the month being left blank), Margaret Boteler widow, late the wife of Edward Boteler of Bewsey esquire, deceased, in consideration of an annuity of 70*l.* to be paid yearly to her for her life, released to him all her estate whatsoever which she had in any manors, hereditaments in Bewsey, Burtonwood, Great Sankey, Warrington, Overford, or elsewhere in the county of Lancaster, which were some time her said husband's, and all her right term of years then to come which she had by any means, gift or grant, or by legacy specified in the last will and testament of her said husband, of or unto all lands, tenements, rectories, tithes, in Bewsey, Burtonwood, Warrington, Great Sankey, or elsewhere in the county of Lancaster, together with the queen's letters patent thereof, or of any part of the same. Having obtained this release Leycester, imitating a sort of kingly state according to a practice which Dr. Whitaker says the nobles of the time greatly affected and was common with them, issued a commission to sir Richard Sherburne and sir Piers Legh knights, William Glasier esquire, vice-chamberlain of Chester. Edward Holt and Robert Wrothe esquires, and others, empowering them to hold a court of survey of the Boteler estates. Courts of this kind were generally held upon the descent of a manor to a new lord, in order to inform him of all such estates

as he had a right to as lord, and of the tenures and customs by which they were held ; but such courts were sometimes held also on a purchase for the tenants to attorn to the new owner. (Jacob's *Court Keeper*, p. 43.)

On the 19th April 29 Elizabeth (1587), in compliance with the power committed to them, the commissioners made a return to it when, calling it a survey of the barony of Warrington, they express it to have been made as well upon their own view as on the view and information of a jury.

In this they report :

“That the manor house of Bewsey is situate on the west side of the town and lordship of Warrington, a mile distant from Warrington town, and within the south-east side of Bewsey park ; the house is environed with a fine mote, over which is a strong drawbridge. The house is large, but one half of it being very old building is gone to decay ; that is to say, the hall, the buttery, pantry, cellar, kitchen, day-house, and brew-house, with a brewing lead and six milk leads, and cannot be sufficiently repaired without the charge of one hundred pounds. The other half is of new building and not decayed, being one great chamber, four other chambers or buildings, a kitchen, a buttery, and also three chambers, and a parlour of the old building, are in good repair. There is also an old chapel, but much decayed. The site of this manor house, with the garden and all the rest of the grounds within the mote, containeth three roods and twenty perches of the customary measure of twenty-four feet to the pole.

“Without the mote in the fore yard stand a barn and two fair stables, whereto adjoineth “a tachment” or fish yard. The fore yard and waste ground about it do contain in like measure one rood and thirty-five perches. In the park by the south side of the mote standeth a dovehouse in good repair. At the south end of the fore yard lieth a little croft of pasture or meadow called Carvers (Calvers) croft, being parcel of the lord's demesnes, whereof a part lieth open to the fore yard, and hath standing

upon it three fair and large barns in good repair ; all the south and west sides of the said croft and barns is environed with the lands that the lord of Bewsey holdeth to farm of the queen's majesty. This croft containeth one rood and thirty perches, and the rest of the waste ground whereon the barns stand contains one rood and thirty perches, and the whole is in the like customary measure three roods and twenty perches.

"Bewsey park lieth between Warrington and Burtonwood, and is almost round save that it is a little longer one way than the other. It extendeth in length from a field of the queen's majesty's lands called Great twenty acres on the west part unto the lord's term lands in the occupation of John Mather and Henry Saddownes of Burtonwood on the east part ; and in breadth from a waste or common of turbary in Burtonwood called Dallam moss on the north side unto the aforementioned Carvers croft and fore yard of the manor house, and also a little close called the Little cockshoot of the queen's land and the Cowhey of the lord's demesnes on the south side. This park is three measured miles and a half about. Almost one half of it is full of little tall oaks, but no underwood." Elsewhere the trees are enumerated "as 9,780 oaks, 500 ashes, 600 aspens, 40 alders, 560 birches, and 3,094 felled oaks, besides others in the demesne. It is indifferently well paled about. There is in it little above six score deer of all sorts. The soil of the park is very barren. There is a *lodge* and a *timber standing* upon it. There is also a paddock and a *course* divided with pales, which course may be maintained a mile long within view of the standing. Near to the paddock is a *fish pond* of water containing *three great acres*. The park contains in the said like customary measure two hundred and twenty acres two roods and twenty-two perches."

After the above follows a minute of the several tenants and their holdings, and a summary in which the term lands in Warrington are stated to contain in statute measure five hundred and sixty-four acres one rood ; the Bewsey demesnes with the term lands in Warrington one thousand three hundred and forty-

eight acres; and the lord's waste, called Warrington heath, eight hundred acres; and the sum total of all the lands in Bewsey and Warrington, except freeholders' lands, was two thousand two hundred and twenty-eight acres.

Many of the tenants are said to hold by leases for lives or years under *Edward Boteler*, and to owe the service of a plough besides their rents; and one of them who had a close between the river and the back brook of Sankey paid 20s. 8d. "for the keel toll of boats."

Besides the foregoing survey of Bewsey there is another nearly contemporaneous document, which is called "A brief content of the manor and barony of Warrington, and other manors and possessions in the county of Lancaster, late Edward Boteler's, Esquire, videlicet. First the scyte of the manor or barony of Warrington is decayed, and no byldings thereupon, and the advowson of the parsonage of Warrington is appendant to the sayd manor, which is of valewe in the Queen's books p̄ ann. xxxvj<sup>li</sup>."

The chief rents of the seventy-two freeholders holding by knight's service in the townships of Warrington, Great and Little Sankey, Overford, Windleshawe, Culceth, Pesfurlong, Bold, Penketh, Ryxton, Glasbrooke, Egregarthe, Thornton, Halsall, Lydiate, Ince-Blundell, Sefton, Aghton, Pynyngton, Leigh, Atherton and Bedford, within the barony of Warrington, amounted to 17*l*. 19*s*. 6*d*. Among these tenants two of them were then the lord's wards.

There were chief rents detained by six other tenants of the barony holding by knight's service, amounting to 15*s*. 3*d*.; and there were a great number of other freeholders holding by the like service who paid no yearly rent.

There were certain rents called "sacke and warde," paid by Ryxton, Glazebrooke, Great Sankey, Atherton, Bedford and Pynyngton, for certain service of old time due, 7*s*. 11*d*.

There was a weir or fish yard worth to be let 13*s*. a year.

The perquisites of the leets and courts were worth 24*l*. a year, and the profits of the fairs were worth the same yearly.

The profits of the markets were 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

The parsonage of Warrington, holden by lease for a term whereof about one hundred and sixty years were unexpired, was worth 200*l.* a year.

The manor house of Bewsey is said to be out of the fee of Warrington.

There is a memorandum that the barony and manors aforesaid were holden of her majesty "by knight's service at the yearly rent of 38*s.* and odd money, as it is supposed."

There is another memorandum which says that many of the leases are voidable by reason that both sir Thomas Boteler and Mr. Edward Boteler made many leases both of the lands purchased by lord Leycester for "concealed lands," and of the lands taken by lease of her majesty, and also of the other lands, for that neither of them granted leases in such manner and form as by their assurances they ought to have granted them; and it is suggested that this matter should be considered before lord Leycester received any of the rents. The sum total of the rents is put down as 749*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* It was a goodly heritage, therefore, which the earl of Leycester had coveted!

Ever since the year 1573 there had been some suspicion that peculation was practised by her majesty's purveyors, persons employed under the royal prerogative to provide provisions for the queen and her household; and on the 8th February in the year 1587 the earl, as lord steward of the household, who seems to have been not wholly disinterested in spying out abuses, addressed a letter to the sheriff and justices of the peace in the county of Lancaster, requiring them to make diligent search and inquiry as well of all disorders and misdemeanours committed by any purveyor or carrier of any commission of provisions for the service of her majesty's house, as also what sums of money any person could claim by bill, tail or debenture for any provisions whatsoever from the fifteenth year of her majesty's reign (1573) until the date of the letter, but more especially for four



years then last past. And further requiring two or three of these purveyors to repair before him, as lord steward, and the rest of the board of green cloth, to offer reasonable service unto her majesty by way of composition of such provisions as the county did best yield. (*Harl. MS.*, 1926, art. 45, fo. 60 C, and *Lanc. Lieut.*, p. 196, Chetham soc.) It was found out afterwards that the queen's money would buy provisions in the market on better terms than the prerogative of purveyance could supply them.

Besides the survey of the Boteler estates which has already been given, there was a rental of them prepared by the same authority for the earl at Martinmas (10th November) 1587. This rental included half a score of fish yards, showing that fish was then no rarity in the Mersey. Would it were not a rarity now! Amongst the tenants we have sir William Bold's children, John Byrom esquire, and Randle Ryxton gentleman, the latter of whom held the Mote-hill, the site of the old manor house of Warrington, John Aston gentleman, John Wakefield the schoolmaster, whose rent was in arrear, Francis Bold gentleman, Thomas Norris gentleman, sir John Southworth knight, doubtless the celebrated recusant, Edward Sankey gentleman, Richard Norris for the earl of Derby, and William Aston gentleman. There is mention of two horsemills and a windmill. Richard Grice held the tow-house, meaning, it is supposed, the toll-house, and Thomas Grice was the "bailiff." Opposite Henry Taylor's holding, which is said to be void, is a note that "a Manchester man standeth here and payeth no rent." This is an early instance of a trader frequenting Warrington market from another town. Lightwork, another name in the rental, recalls the name of him whose name was its opposite, the "Nightwork" of justice Shallow; while the recent death of the town ostler, Robert Aspinall, reminds us of that other Robin, the Gadshill ostler, who "never joyed since the price of oats rose," and whose death was said to have turned the hostel at Gadshill upside down. The total number of the tenants in Warrington and Burtonwood is put down as three hundred and thirty-eight, and the annual value as 749*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*

On the 20th June 29 Elizabeth (1587), by an indenture of bargain and sale made between the earl of the one part, and sir Christopher Hatton knight, lord chancellor of England, and sir Francis Knollys knight, treasurer of the queen's household, of the other part, the said earl did bargain and sell unto the said parties of the latter part all the lordships, manors, messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments in the counties of Lancaster and Chester which he had acquired of Edward Böteler esquire, deceased, to hold unto and to the use of the said Christopher Hatton and Francis Knollys for ever. And he covenanted to ratify any sales which they might make.

The object of this deed was probably to give additional strength to the earl's title, and was made to the bargainees upon some secret trust.

Leycester had now attained a height of fortune which of itself might have turned a stronger head than his, but he was surrounded by sycophants who increased the intoxication of his position by their adulation. No old Egyptian sovereign, who was addressed by his subjects as a beneficent divinity, was ever more profanely flattered than was Leycester, who must have tolerated such incense or it would not have been offered. The first edition of the Bishop's Bible, printed in 1568, has an engraving of Leycester's head at the end of the second part; and Ellis Price, one of his creatures and correspondents in 1587, in addressing him constantly applied to him these words, "O lord, in thee do I put my trust." Such blasphemy, which was not disinterested, soon proved, it is to be hoped, but a broken reed and pierced the hand of him who leaned on it.

Neither sir Philip Sidney's defence nor the queen's letter had sufficed to silence Leycester's defamers or stifle the suspicions which clung to him, for on the 26th April 1587, only one short week after the return of the court of survey, sir Piers Leigh one of the earl's commissioners, describing himself as "provost marshall of Lancashire and Cheshire and justice of the peace," issued his warrant, dated at Lyme Handley, to the keeper of the

gaol at Chester, commanding him to receive and detain in his custody the body of Randolph Northburie husbandman for very heinous words spoken against Robert earl of Leycester. (*Brit. Librarian* for May 1737.) This was so soon after Edward Boteler's death that we cannot help suspecting it to have had some relation to the connection between Leycester and him.\*

Leycester again left England for the Low Countries in June 1587, and not long after his arrival there the duke of Parma, having taken the town of Sluys, gave the States much dissatisfaction, and great dissensions consequently arose between the earl and them, who attributed the whole of their losses to him. Their dissatisfaction became so great that they refused to reinstate him in his former power, and engaged one Medenblike, a person in the earl's service, to be a spy upon his actions and disclose to them his counsels, which, until he was discovered, he continued to do ; after which his lordship so dealt with him that he was never heard of more. To regain his lost power the earl attempted to promote an insurrection, in which the watchword

\* While Edmund Dudley, the earl's grandfather, lay a prisoner in the tower, he wrote, in hopes that it might procure him a pardon, a work called *The Tree of the Commonwealth*, which Bonner with a want of feeling said did not prove "a tree of life" to him. In this work he represents the good or happiness of the nation under the allegory of a great tree with its various roots and fruits all springing from and growing out of the king himself. The chief or tap root he very properly makes to be the love of God, which is followed in their order by justice, truth, concord and peace. A manuscript copy of the book, which had then never appeared in print, was given by Stowe to the earl. Advice is given in it to different classes as to their duties, and it had been well for Leycester and would have saved him much animadversion if he had remembered the following advice to the nobles :

"The chivalry of the realm, wherein be intended all dukes, earls, barons, knights, esquires, and other gentlemen by office or authority," he says, "had need to live in a good conformity, that is to say every man after the honour and degree that God and his prince have called him to, and after that part or portion to lead his life and not to malign or envy his superiors nor disdain or set at nought his inferiors. But every man to know other with his duty, and to help and guide him as his power may extend, nor intend any murder or mischievous deed, nor be the oppressor or destroyer of his neighbours or tenants, nor be any bearer or supporter of false quarrels or matters of evil disposed persons, nor be the doers or inducers of perjury or falsehood." (*Tree of the Commonwealth*, p. 18, first printed by the Manchester Rosicrucians in 1859.)

agreed upon was "Long live the queen of England and the earl of Leycester," which was almost as disloyal as the title which Wolsey so daringly assumed when he coupled his own name with the king's. Matters continued however to grow worse and worse, and at last he determined to quit the country and return home; but before leaving he privately distributed among his own faction gold medals, having on one side his own effigy and on the other a dog looking back upon a flock of sheep from which some of the sheep had strayed. Over the dog was placed this inscription: "Invitus desero," and near the sheep, "Non gregem sed ingratos." The States on the other hand struck a medal which represented two earthen pots swimming in the sea with this inscription: "Si collidimur frangimur," by which they intended no complimentary allusion to the queen's departed lieutenant. Leycester, when he arrived in England, found the country in great excitement expecting the arrival of the Spanish armada, and feeling greatly the want of a commander of the land forces. Leycester had shown no aptitude for the post, but so infatuated was the queen with him that in July 1588 she named him lieutenant-general of all the forces assembled at Tilbury to resist the threatened invasion.\* To prove how forward the people

\* The battle off the English coast which finally drove off the armada was fought on the 9th August 1588. (Froude's *Hist.*, vol. xii. p. 487.)

AN ESTIMATE OF THE SEVERALL SORTS OF WEAPONS OF HER MAJESTY'S FORCES  
PRESENTLIE AT THE CAMPE AT WEST TILBERY, THIS OF AUGUST 1588.

Shyres	Captaines	Tar- getts	Mus- kets	Hal- bards	Pikes	Bowes	Cal's	
ESSEX .....	Capt. Wroth.....	000	65	27	106	70	116	384
	S <sup>r</sup> Thos. Lucas...	000	89	46	94	165	177	571
	S <sup>r</sup> John Peter ...	000	76	52	148	126	199	601
	Capt. Weston ...	000	68	46	112	138	210	574
	Capt. Barlington.	000	68	49	122	131	109	479
	Capt. Maxey ...	000	55	25	106	135	157	478
BERK. ....	Capt. Harries ...	05	22	59	91	48	161	368
	Capt. Nevell ...	000	000	10	21	28	41	...
	Capt. Dockery...	000	000	18	38	72	67	...
	Capt. Lovelant...	000	012	11	23	22	30	...
	Capt. Lydcot ...	000	005	16	40	54	78	...
	Cor. Umpton ...	000	020	20	40	60	63	...
	Capt. Cooke ...	000	000	20	40	60	68	...

of Lancashire and Cheshire were in their determination to defend the country it may be mentioned that sir Edward Fitton of Gaws-  
worth, being sick, sent his cousin Bold to Burleigh to let him  
know that he would send or, if able, bring two hundred able  
men; and he added that a number of his kinsmen and friends  
were prepared to place themselves at Burleigh's command. (Pref.  
to *Lanc. Lieut.*, p. lxxi, Chetham soc.)

Shyres	Captaines	Tar- getts	Mus- kets	Hal- bards	Pikes	Bowes	Cal'rs	
SURREY .....	{ Capt. Gardner ...	000	24	19	26	000	89	...
	{ Capt. Gainsford .	000	35	30	78	00	94	...
	{ Capt. Courthop.	000	10	15	50	40	103	...
	{ Capt. Herne.....	000	15	30	78	000	113	...
BUCK. ....	{ Capt. Tirrell ...	000	000	20	73	40	66	...
	{ Capt. Burlacy ...	003	000	10	38	36	69	...
	{ Capt. Pigot .....	000	000	15	48	43	55	...
HERTFORD ...	{ S <sup>r</sup> John Brocket.	000	000	40	102	20	137	...
	{ Capt. Litton .....	000	37	10	105	3	103	...
	{ Capt. Poulter ...	000	29	41	97	000	117	...
BEDFORD.....	{ Capt. Conquest..	00	14	15	46	00	93	...
	{ Capt. Austrey ...	00	16	16	47	00	89	...
	{ Capt. Cockyn ...	05	15	13	43	00	78	...
OXFORD .....	{ Capt. Ffynes.....	05	31	10	02	00	79	...
	{ Capt. Pettye.....	00	14	11	35	00	81	...
LONDON .....	{ Capt. Morries ...	00	27	19	73	00	79	...
	{ Capt. Lester.....	00	22	10	82	00	73	...
	{ Capt. Audley ...	00	30	18	57	00	79	...
	{ Capt. Wilcox ...	00	21	15	53	00	96	...
	{ Capt. Lea .....	00	33	15	74	00	55	...
OXFORD .....	{ Capt. Braye .....	05	20	00	86	00	128	...
	{ Capt. Doiley ...	05	20	00	53	07	66	...
	{ Capt. Oglethorpe	00	20	08	50	00	72	...
SUFF. ....	{ Sir W <sup>m</sup> Walgrave	00	65	20	95	60	162	...
	{ S <sup>r</sup> Nico. Bacon..	04	35	22	95	60	165	...
	{ S <sup>r</sup> Will <sup>m</sup> Springe..	00	55	20	100	20	166	...
	{ Capt. Furth .....	00	00	20	60	80	175	...
(Endorsed)		32	1070	861	2917	1518	4169	3473

Tilberry, 1588,

A forme of devidinge weapons for an armie of souldiers.

(From the original in the possession of Whitehall Dod, esq., 18th October, 1866.)

Fortunately for England and for Leycester's reputation, the elements and our naval commanders destroyed the armada, and the Spaniards having never landed, the skill of the commander of the land forces was not put to the test ; and it was pithily said of the armada — "Il est venu, il a veu, il a fuy." Leycester however lived long enough to partake of the triumph and witness the rejoicings which followed ; and in her joy at the success the queen, if Burleigh and Hatton had not prevented it, would have made him a sort of viceroy or lord lieutenant-governor of England and Ireland. The danger being over he set out on his journey to Kenilworth, but on the way thither he was seized with a sudden illness at Cornbury where he died on the 4th September 1588, and his possession of the Boteler estates, which he had so greatly coveted and had laboured so hard to obtain, slipped from his grasp ! His sudden death, as was not unlikely, was attributed to poison, and it was said on the occasion, "Fraudis fraude suâ prenditur artifex." The engineer was "hoist with his own petard." One most unlikely conjecture was that his wife had poisoned him by design ; another that he had been poisoned, not by her, but by some other person ; and a third, which was the most probable of any was, that he had been poisoned through his wife administering to him by mistake, as a restorative, a poison which he had himself given her under that name to recover her from faintness. His remains were conveyed from Cornbury to Warwick to be interred in the family chapel, where the sumptuous monument still remaining was erected by his wife Lettice to mark his last resting place. The pompous epitaph on it, which gives in full all his high-sounding titles, is strangely at variance with that more popular epitaph which was commonly handed about after his death, and which was more generally appreciated :

"Here lyes the noble warrior that never blunted sword ;  
 Here lyes the noble courtier that never kept his word ;  
 Here lyes his excellency that governed all the state ;  
 Here lyes the earl of Leycester that all the world did hate."

At his death the earl was notoriously very deeply in debt to the queen, but she, who never remitted anything owing to her treasury, would make no exception even for her favourite, and his goods were disposed of at a public sale and applied towards the payment of what was due to her majesty. By his will, which has a most pious preamble, made at Middleburg in the Low Countries on the 1st August 1587, the earl empowered his widow executor to sell his estates in Lancashire, which formerly belonged to sir Thomas Boteler, for the redemption of the lordships of Denbigh and Chirk, which, after the death of his brother the earl of Warwick, he left to Robert Dudley, whom he calls his *base* son; and to whom, after the same earl's death, he gave also the castle of Kenilworth, with all the parks, chases and lands belonging to it, with the manors of Balsall and Long Itchington, and Leycester house in London. (Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 221.)

The reader who has read the account of the earl's dealings with Edward Boteler will think the cypher of "the black heart" which he ordinarily used was not inappropriate. Camden, his cotemporary, says he was "a most accomplished courtier, free and bountiful to soldiers and students, a cunning time-server and respecter of his own advantages; of a disposition ready and apt to please, crafty and subtile towards his adversaries; much given formerly to women, and in his latter days doating extremely upon marriage. But while he preferred power and greatness, which is subject to be envied, before solid virtue, his detracting emulators found large matters to speak reproachfully of him, and even when he was in his most flourishing condition, spared not disgracefully to defame him by libels, not without a mixture of some untruths." This not too favourable a character of him is more shortly and more justly summed up by a later historian: "If the queen had a man's nature, Leycester had a woman's but without her tenderness. Without courage, without talent, without virtue, he was the handsome, soft, polished and attentive minion of the court." (Froude's *Hist. Eng.*, vol. vii. p. 86.)

Lettice, Leicester's third wife, who survived him, has a history of her own. "She was born in 1539, and was seven years old when Henry VIII. cut off the head of Ann Boleyn, her great-aunt. During the reign of Edward VI. she was still a girl, but sir Francis Knollys her father was about the court, and she doubtless saw and was acquainted with the youthful sovereign. The succession of Mary threw the family of Lettice into the shade. As a relative of the Boleyns and the child of a Puritan she could expect no favour from a daughter of Katherine of Arragon, but Mary and Philip were doubtless personally known to her. At Elizabeth's succession Lettice was in her eighteenth year. About 1566 she was married to the young Walter Devereux viscount Hereford, created earl of Essex in 1572. He died in 1576, and in 1578 his beautiful countess was married to the earl of Leicester. Within a year after his death she was again married to an unthrifty knight of doubtful character, sir Christopher Blunt, who had been her late lord's equerry, and who had once been the pupil of the celebrated cardinal Allen. In 1601 Lettice became a widow for the third time. Her husband was a party to the treasonable madness of her son, and both suffered on the scaffold. Lettice now retired to Drayton Bassett. In James's time her connections were in favour, and she came to London to make good her claim as countess of Leicester. At James's death she had attained the age of 85, with her faculties unimpaired. We may imagine that she was introduced to the new sovereign. The grandmother of the earls of Holland and Warwick and the relation of half the court would naturally attract the attention and share the courtesies of the lively Henrietta and the grave, stately and formal Charles. He was the sixth, or counting Philip, the seventh English sovereign whom she had seen. The last few years of her life were passed at Drayton, where she spent her days so well

"That to her the better sort  
Came as to a holy court ;



And the poor, that livéd near,  
 Death or famine could not fear  
 Whilst she lived !”

Until within a year or two of her death she could walk a mile in a morning. She died on Christmas-day 1634, at the age of 94. She was buried beside her husband, and the above lines by Gervase Clifton are inscribed on her tomb.” (*Athenæum*, pp. 13-14, 1857.)

Lettice might almost be said to rival the celebrated countess of Desmond,

“Who lived to the age of a hundred and ten,  
 And died by a fall from a cherry-tree *then*.”

The age of Elizabeth—“the golden days of good queen Bess” as they have been called—must have been as much haunted by poisoners as was the court of France in a later age. The death of Lettice’s husband, Walter Devereux, was not without suspicion of poison, though she was acquitted of being any party to it ; but some dark shades in her character are given by a late writer, the duke of Manchester, in his *Court and Times from Elizabeth to Anne* (vol. i. p. 293).

Camden, who had visited Warrington in 1586, says of it, *notum est suo foro*, and it had already become known for its manufacture of *poldavies* or sail-cloths. (Baines’s *Hist. Liverpool*, p. 245.)

The population of Warrington at Leycester’s decease, if we estimate his tenants there at three hundred and the other land-owners’ at half that number, would be about two thousand two hundred and fifty. The place had then probably no regular printing press, though Waldegrave is said to have been there a short time in 1588 printing the *Marprelate tracts*.

## CHAPTER III.

AMBROSE DUDLEY earl of Warwick, who succeeded his brother in the barony of Warrington, was the fourth son of the duke of Northumberland by his wife Jane the daughter of sir Edward Guildford, and was born about the year 1530. In August 1549 he accompanied his father and brother in the expedition into Norfolk to put down Ket the tanner's insurrection, and he soon after received the honour of knighthood; but the honour was soon tracked by sorrow, for on the 25th July he was sent to the tower for taking up arms to support his sister-in-law lady Jane Grey's claim to the crown, and being indicted for it and found guilty of high treason he was sentenced to death. But on the 18th October 1554, having friends at court, he was set at liberty, and then or soon afterwards he received his pardon. In 1557 he accompanied king Philip to Picardy, and was present at the battle and siege of St. Quentin, when his youngest brother Henry was slain. In the first year of her reign queen Elizabeth, to mark her favour, granted him the manor of Kibworth Beauchamp, to hold by the service of being her pantler at the coronation, and the next year she made him master of the ordnance for life. On Christmas-day 1561 he was raised to the peerage as lord Lisle, and the next day, as if two steps on the ladder of nobility were too many to be taken at once, he was made earl of Warwick, and on the 6th April following the queen granted him that castle, manor and borough.

On the 1st October 1562 the queen made him commander-in-chief of the forces which she sent ostensibly to aid the Huguenots in Normandy, though she secretly hoped it might help her to

recover Calais. His conduct justified his sovereign's choice, for by vigilance and activity he made his power felt in every part of Normandy until he was ungenerously deserted by those whom he came to assist. Being besieged in Havre amidst many hardships he defended himself with vigour, and only surrendered the place in the last extremity and by the queen's special order, after having obtained honourable conditions. It was during this siege that he received from her majesty the following note :

" My dear Warwick,

If your honour and my desire could accord with the loss of the needfullest finger I keep, God so help me at my utmost need, as I would gladly lose that one joint for your safe abode with me ; but since I cannot that I would, I will do that I may, and will rather drink in an ashen cup than you and yours should not be succoured both by sea and land, yea, and that with all speed possible, and let this my scribbling hand witness it unto them all. Yours as my own,

E. R."

Pending the treaty of capitulation he went without his armour upon the ramparts to speak to a French officer of distinction, when some villain from beneath, in violation of the rules of war, shot him in the leg with a bullet which is said to have been poisoned. A modern writer, who says the earl for his surrender of Havre is cursed to fame, is unjust to his memory, for without supplies he could not have kept it, and it was not his fault that the army brought back a pestilence of which twenty thousand people died in London alone.

On the breaking out of Northumberland's and Westmoreland's rebellion in the North at the close of 1569, the earl and lord Clinton advanced with a large force for its suppression, but the insurgents fled at their approach and they returned homewards without the earl having an opportunity to distinguish himself.

In 1574 he was still general of the queen's ordnance within her highness's realm and dominions, and in that character

Barnaby Rich dedicated to him his discourse between Mercury and an English soldier. (*Lanc. Lieut.*, pref. p. xxii, Chetham soc.)

In 1576, when sir Martin Frobisher with his two *large* vessels, more powerful in their names than in their tonnage, the Michael and the Gabriel, the one of but twenty-five tons, and the other of thirty! set sail to discover the north-west passage, an adventure full of danger at any time, the earl of Warwick was the patron and helped the daring navigator to start on his voyage, which, with such craft and at such a time, must have been far more perilous than now. (*Athenæum*, August 4th 1849.)

In 1586 he took part in the trial of the queen of Scots, but he was not present at the meeting of the commissioners in the Star chamber afterwards.

On the 4th September 1588, by the death of his brother, Warwick became lord of the barony of Warrington, and as the queen had some years before made him chief butler of England, Warrington might thus be said to have once more returned to the Botelers.

On the 17th May 31 Elizabeth (1589), by an indenture between the earl of the one part, and Thomas Duddleley esquire, his steward and kinsman, and Richard Sutton gentleman, of the other part, after reciting that Lettice countess of Leycester, the widow of the late earl, held for her life a capital messuage in St. Clement Danes without Temple bar, and the lordships or manors of Bewsey, Burtonwood, Warrington, Great Sankey, Little Sankey, and divers messuages and hereditaments in those places, and in Overford, Bedford, Pennington, Leigh, Egregath,\* Lydiate, and elsewhere in the county of Lancaster, some time the possession of sir Thomas Boteler knight, deceased, it was witnessed that the said earl did covenant with the said Duddleley and Sutton, that subject to the said Lettice's life estate he would stand seised of the said premises to the use of the said earl and the heirs of his body by Anne countess of Warwick his wife, with remainder to the earl's right heirs for ever. (Lord Lilford's *Papers*.)

\* This place was in or near Lydiate. See the *Survey* of 1597.

By an indenture of the 2nd June 31 Elizabeth (1589), between the same earl of the one part, and the right honourable Charles lord Howard (the celebrated admiral who had defeated the armada) of the other part, the said earl, in part performance of the intent of Robert late earl of Leycester, did grant unto the said Charles lord Howard and his heirs all the reversions, remainders, right, title, estate and interest which he had to him and his heirs by any manner of way whatsoever of and in all and every of the said manors and hereditaments, to hold to the said lord Howard his heirs and assigns to the use of Robert Dudley (who is again ungenerously described as Leycester's *base* son) and the heirs of his body, with remainder to the earl of Warwick's right heirs, with power to the said earl during his life to revoke those uses. (Lord Lilford's *Papers*.)

The hunt after concealed lands, after being suspended for a time, now appeared to revive and become once more active. Amongst the hunters was Walter Coppinger, a new man of whom we have not heard before and whose name, though several persons who bore it are known to history, is altogether unknown in this neighbourhood. In 33 Elizabeth (1591) one Edmund Coppinger made himself notorious as a fanatic by announcing that he came as the messenger of Hacket who pretended to be our Saviour. (Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. liv.) Of one Mrs. Ursula Coppinger an account is given elsewhere. (*Notes and Queries*, p. 13, 1860.) One Matthew Coppinger was executed at Tyburn on the 27th February 1695, and an account of him was afterwards published under this title: *The life, conversation, birth, education, pranks, projects, exploits, and merry conceits of the famously notorious Mat. Coppinger, once a player in Bartholomew Fair*. (*Ibid.* p. 409, 1859.) There was a Mr. Coppinger connected in some way with Somerset and sir Thomas Overbury. (*Secret Hist. James I.*, p. 219.) None of these family notices however serve to introduce us very favourably to Walter Coppinger who now appears on the scene.

On the 22nd July 31 Elizabeth (1589) the queen by her letters

patent granted to him and Thomas Butler, whose name in connection with Adams a grantee of concealed lands has been mentioned before, all that the manor of Warrington and the advowson of the church of Warrington, and all the lands in Warrington, Sankey Magna, Sankey Parva, Overford, Windleshaw, Culcheth, Pesfurlonge, Bold, Penketh, Rixton, Glazebrooke, Eggarth, Thornton, Halsall, Lydiate, Ince-Blundell, Sefton, Aughton, Pennington, Leigh, Atherton and Bedford, formerly parcel of the possessions of sir Thomas Boteler and Edward Boteler his son, to hold unto and to the use of the said grantees and their heirs, subject to their rendering yearly for the same 20s. as rent, with a proviso that the said letters should be void if the said lands had not been concealed on the 20th May in the twenty-seventh year of the queen's reign 1586. (Lord Lilford's *Papers*.) This date was after the death of sir Thomas and before that of Edward Boteler, and it does not at present appear why it was adopted. Very soon after they had obtained this grant the two grantees conveyed all benefit under it to the earl of Warwick in fee. (Lord Lilford's *Papers*.)

It would seem that the earl was now contemplating a sale of the Boteler estates, and the following entries in the Shuttleworth accounts show that he was taking steps to ascertain their value: 7th September 1589, "Payed for the diete of Sir Rychard Shuttleworthe knyghte (the chief justice of Chester), and for sixtene of his mene, in Chester at the assiessies there for onne hole wyeke, as by the stuerdes bouke doethe appeare, ix<sup>l</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup>;" . . . . item paid for "firringe over the water at Ronkehorne and geven to the horce kyper at Bould, and for gidinge of the way to Bewsaye, xj<sup>d</sup>;" . . . . item "geven at Bould when the surveie was taken at Bewsaye of the land there vj<sup>d</sup>." (*Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 54.)

Sir Richard Shuttleworth was the serjeant-at-law who defended lord Arundel when he was accused of being a party to the duke of Norfolk's plot. It was the same lord who in 1580 first introduced coaches, before which time Elizabeth, when she

travelled, always rode behind her chamberlain. (Browne's *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 9.) The serjeant, now become sir Richard, sat as justice of Chester for the first time in 1589. Between him and the family of Bold there was a connection through the Leghs of Lyme, and the judge was probably acting as Mr. Bold's adviser in his treaty with the earl of Warwick, which seems to have been now advancing rapidly towards completion; for on the 14th November 31 Elizabeth (1589) articles of agreement were concluded between the earl on the one part and Richard Bold esquire on the other, by which it was agreed that at Bold's request the earl would convey to him all the hereditaments within the county of Lancaster which at any time theretofore were the inheritance of sir Thomas Boteler knight, grandfather of Edward Boteler esquire, other than and except such as were demised or conveyed by certain leases therein after mentioned; and also other than and except the manor of Layton in the county of Lancaster; and also other than and except such as were conveyed and assured by the said sir Thomas Boteler to any person or persons other than to king Henry VIII., or to any person or persons of the name and blood of the said sir Thomas Boteler, or to the use of any of his name or blood; and also all the hereditaments late of the said sir Thomas Boteler, and granted by her majesty unto Theophilus Adams and Thomas Butler and their heirs by her letters patent of the 2nd August 1585; and also all hereditaments in the same county late of the said sir Thomas Boteler, and granted by her majesty to Walter Coppinger and the said Thomas Butler and their heirs by her letters patent of the 23rd March (22nd July ?) 31 Elizabeth (1582), except the portion of tithes in Woolston and Poulton then lately granted by the queen by her letters patent of the 25th February 24 Elizabeth (1582) to Edmund Downing and Peter Ashton. And the earl further agreed that he would, before the 1st January then next, compound with Peter Warburton esquire and John Mainwaring gentleman and their wives for all such interest as they might have in the lands; and he also

agreed that he would enter into the usual covenants for title, and that the premises were free from encumbrances except a rent of 70*l.* granted to lady Anne Boteler; a rent of 70*l.* to Margaret, late wife of Edward Boteler; a rent of 5*l.* with two pounds of pepper granted to sir Peter Legh knight; a yearly rent of 6*l.* to the said John Mainwaring; a yearly rent of 40*l.* to his wife Margaret Mainwaring; a yearly rent of 100 marks granted to Elizabeth Warburton for a term of years, whereof four-and-a-half were unexpired. And it was declared by the said agreement that the premises were intended to be sold for the redemption of the manor of Denbigh, and that the purchase money to be paid by the said Richard Bold for the premises was 18,300*l.* (Lord Lilford's *Deeds*.)

In the same year we have this further entry in the Shuttleworth accounts relating to the sale of the estates :

"December, 1589. Item, spent by Richard Urmestone and myselfe, when wee wente to Bould to speke with Mr. Bould concerning Bewseye, viij<sup>d</sup>." (*Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 57.)

But after the earl had agreed to sell the Boteler estates he found that much more than the ordinary machinery was required to be set in motion before the sale could be completed, and accordingly on the 9th December 1589 we have this letter on the subject from sir Thomas Egerton the queen's solicitor-general, afterwards the celebrated lord chancellor Ellesmere :

*"To John Egerton, esquier, at Oulton.*

Sr,—My good Lo. the erle of Warwicke, is to make sale of the lands in Lancashire w<sup>ch</sup> were late Sir Thomas Boteler's. Mr. Warburton and Mr. Mainwaringe have moved some questions touchinge some tytles they pr'tend, in right of their wives, though not for the maine tytle, yet for some petie things w<sup>ch</sup> they crave recompense for. His Lo. meanethe to deale hon'ably w<sup>th</sup> them as he dothe with all. Yt is thought you have some interest in Mr. Mainwaringe, and maye frame him to good conformitye. I pray you therefore use your beste meanes therein, suffer him not to hinder my Lo. course to his owne harme, for soe yt will fall out in the ende, but rather applyinge his minde to my Lo.



hon'able dealinge with him to worke his owne goode, and so satisfye that good purpose w<sup>th</sup> his Lo. intendethe. He shall finde yt his best waye, and by doeing the contrarye shall p'happs a lytle hinder my Lord, but in the ende more damage himselfe. So hastyng for this tyme, I comitt you to God, with my very harte comendacons to yor selfe and yor good wife. At St. John's, this ix<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1589.

Yors most assured,

(From Lord Lilford's *Papers*.)

THO. EGERTON."

But now another enemy interfered to interpose a further delay in the completion of the sale of the Boteler estates.

The wound which the earl had received at Havre had ever since continued to distress him, and under the advice of his medical attendants he at length consented to have the wounded limb amputated; but his strength failing he sank under the operation, and expired on the 21st February 1590, and on the 9th April following he was interred with much state, and with a great attendance of his kinsmen and friends, in the beautiful Beauchamp chapel at Warwick.

Hume makes the earl's death occur as early as the siege of Havre in 1563, and other accounts give other dates for his death, but we follow that which is the most reliable, his inquisition post mortem.

To his more celebrated brother, whom he loved with a real brotherly affection, he was much attached, but he never mixed in the practices and intrigues which have sullied that brother's reputation. Like his brother, he only enjoyed the Boteler property for a very short time.

It was truly said of the earl of Warwick that he inherited his father's wealth, while the younger brother had his wit. In spite of the latter's greater mental endowments he always stood higher, and through life he maintained a character above reproach, and he descended to the grave with the well-earned name of a true christian, a brave soldier and a man of honour.

The historian Browne says of him that he died "as full of virtue as empty of issue."

## CHAPTER IV.

ON his death, the barony of Warrington devolved upon sir Robert Dudley, the earl of Leycester's son by his second wife lady Sheffield. His father, as we have seen, stigmatised him as *base* born, but against this taint on *her* fame and *his* birth lady Sheffield never ceased to contend, and there is reason to believe that but for the court influence, which was used against her, the taint would have been wiped out and her marriage with Leycester have been duly established. Lady Sheffield always declared that she was legally married to his father, but that during his life he frightened her into secrecy by the threat that he would poison her, which, according to her statement, he actually attempted to do, and the poison, though not strong enough to kill her, proved sufficient to make her hair fall off. Taking this as a foretaste of what might follow, she avoided his company, and never betrayed his confidence. While yet a baby, the son, who was born in 1573, was the subject of his mother's verses, beginning :

"Balow, my babe, lie still and sleep ;  
It grieves me sair to see thee weep."

But whether he was legitimate or not, the romantic and striking story of Dudley, if his life had been more regular, would have made him a hero. When a boy he was first sent to a school kept by Owen Jones at Offington near Worthing, when his father called him "Robin," and spoke of him to his master as his lawful son. At the early age of 14 he was entered at Christ church, Oxford, as "Comitis filius," where he became distinguished for his proficiency in mathematics. When his father

died he was still in his boyhood, and though destined to succeed to the bulk of his large fortune in reversion he had upon him the brand of bastardy which, notwithstanding his handsome person and his deserved reputation for great ability, rankled in his mind and hindered his advancement. The officials of the government, who persisted in calling him Mr. Dudley, made him feel "the insolence of office," and refused him any assistance towards furnishing the ship he desired to fit out to seek his fortune at sea. Young, as he was he had a great desire to follow Columbus, Cabot, Frobisher, and others in the track of maritime discovery, but his aspirations were curbed by the refusal of all assistance from the government towards providing him with means and a ship. (*Athenæum*, p. 142, 1870, from which a great part of the above is taken.)

He was still a minor on the 21st February 1590, when his uncle the earl of Warwick died, but he had a spirit bold beyond his years, which made him chafe like an imprisoned eagle against restraint, and he longed for stirring employment. On the 31st May 34 Elizabeth (1592) a court baron and commission of survey of the "noble Robert Dudley" of and for his manor of Warrington with its members was issued in his name, and it is presumed by him to Richard Bold, Thomas Jobson (Dudley's kinsman), and Robert Johnson, empowering them or any two of them, whereof Johnson was to be one, to ascertain all the particulars of the manor as well by measurement, perambulation and geographical description, to be made by the said Robert Johnson and Thomas Marshall his servant, as by the oaths of divers good and lawful men, tenants and inhabitants there. Under this commission a court of survey which commenced at Kenilworth on the 10th October 1592, after having been adjourned to the 11th August 1593 at the same place, was then and there ended, the jurors, one third of whom are described as gentlemen, being thirty-three in number.

The survey states that Edward Boteler, lately deceased, was lord of the manor of Warrington, Culcheth, Windle, Sankey and

Penketh. It mentions the old service of sack and ward, and forfeitures for effusion of blood and breaches of the peace. Only one *weekly* market was then held, but the day is not mentioned, and then as now two yearly fairs were held. Howley and Arpley are called the Town Fields. The Legh possessions in Warrington are expressly said to have been purchased from the Botelers. A market bell was kept, and the market was not to begin until it was rung. The estates mentioned as held under the manor of Warrington were nearly the same as those mentioned in the former inquisitions. No persons were allowed to sell ale but those who would undertake to receive and lodge travellers. All persons who professed to be innholders were obliged to receive travellers, and the constable, on application, went round to enforce this rule in favour of such persons as required it. Every householder was compelled to keep a ladder of at least sixteen staves as a protection in case of fire, a very likely casualty in streets which were so narrow, and among houses which were for the most part of wood. The queen, by her tenant Robert Buckley, paid 8*d.* a year for a tenement in Church street, formerly called Boteler's chantry. She also held two other tenements in Fennel street and Church street, lately part of the same chantry, at the rent of 3*s.* 2*d.* John Wakefield, "pedagogus," the master of the grammar school, paid a rent of 7*d.* "Linen cloth" is mentioned among the articles for which toll was paid to the lord of the manor. Back lane (Bag lane), Fennel street, Church street and Bridge street, are all mentioned in the survey. The lord of the manor had free and several fishing in Bewsey brook as far as his land extended on each side. Whoever laid his midding in the market place, or dug holes there for clay or gravel, was to pay a fine of 12*d.*, which, though it does not give us a high opinion of the state of the streets at that time, shows that there was the dawning of a regard for cleanliness, decency and decorum. Fines were imposed for disobeying or obstructing the lord's officers in the discharge of their duty; on persons suffering vagabonds or idle persons to

play at unlawful games in their houses ; on persons putting any horse of less value than 13s. 4*d.* loose upon Warrington heath, or any diseased beast into the common fields ; on putting corn or grain of a worse quality at the bottom than at the top of the sack ; on grinding corn elsewhere than at the lord's mill ; on persons receiving and lodging vagabonds in their houses ; on laying ashes or mud, or making a midding in the streets, to the annoyance of the neighbours ; on persons not assisting the lord's officers when required so to do ; on putting down any sweepings or filth upon their neighbours' premises ; on persons digging turves or clods, or watering or *diving* flax or hemp in the place where the fair was kept ; on not keeping their channels and gutters clean ; on persons suing in any other than the lord's court, except in certain cases ; on not paying their share towards the repair of the roads in Arpley in proportion to their lands ; on eavesdropping ; on innkeepers not lodging strangers ; on cursing the jury ; on making a midding in the market-place, or breaking ground there for clay ; on breaking down a neighbour's fences. The population of Warrington at this time may be estimated to have been about two thousand five hundred persons.

On the 15th February 36 Elizabeth (1594), by a release made between Peter Warburton esquire of the one part, and the said Robert Dudley of the other part, by which, after reciting the articles of agreement of the 9th July 24 Elizabeth (1582) between the late earl of Leycester, sir Gilbert Gerard, Edward Boteler and Elizabeth Boteler, and also reciting that there then remained due only 300 marks, besides 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* forfeited as a penalty, it was witnessed that Peter Warburton did release the premises to Robert Dudley, and the said Peter Warburton as well for the consideration aforesaid as at the mediation of the right honourable sir Thomas Heneage knight, chancellor of the duchy, and the right honourable sir John Fortescue knight, did also release the said lease for ten thousand years, which is mentioned to bear date the 20th day of . . . . in 21 Elizabeth.

On the 13th November 37 Elizabeth (1595) sir Christopher

Blunt of Drayton and John Crook, who had become entitled, perhaps in right of Lettice sir Christopher's wife, to the lease which the earl her late husband on the 1st March 1587 had obtained of the Sankey lands, transferred such lease and all benefit under it to Robert Dudley. Sir Christopher's son of both his names afterwards obtained an unenviable notoriety as the paramour of lady Rich. (Fox Bournes's *Life of Philip Sidney*, p. 376.)

In the same year (1595) Robert Dudley, who was now of age and had the command of large means, fitted out three ships with which he sailed to Trinidad, where he took and destroyed nine Spanish merchantmen laden with wine, and, being bent on what was called "burning the king of Spain's beard," he soon afterwards sailed to the West Indies, where he took much treasure and gained such honour as was then too readily accorded to a buccaniering expedition, but which called by its right name was piracy. On this occasion he called one of the islands at the mouth of the Orinoco "Dudleyana" after his own family name. (Hackluyt's *Voyages and Life of Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, p. 286.)

We next hear of him as joining the earl of Essex's expedition to Spain about the year 1596 when Cadiz was taken, and when he showed such gallantry and courage that he won his spurs and was knighted by the earl for his services, and thenceforth became sir Robert Dudley.

On the 3rd April 38 Elizabeth (1596) he transferred the queen's lease of the Sankey lands to Robert Johnson, his steward, agent and kinsman.

On the 14th November 1589 the earl of Warwick, as we have seen, had contracted to sell the Boteler estates to Bold and Ireland. Nine years had since passed, and such had been the difficulties of the title that it had taken all that time to remove them. They were now however removed, and on the 11th February 39 Elizabeth (1597) sir Robert Dudley, in consideration of 16,000*l.*, granted and conveyed all the Boteler estates to Richard Bold and Thomas Ireland esquires, describing them

as all that the manor or mansion house and capital messuage of Bewsey in Burtonwood, and all the site of such mansion house and capital messuage, with all houses, edifices, buildings, structures, barns, stables, dovehouses, kylns, orchards, gardens, courts, yards, folds, moats, waters, ponds, pools, fishings, water-courses and easements, and all ways, streets, entries and passages into, out of and from the same capital messuage, manor or mansion house, together with all and every the park, impaled grounds, paddocks, coppice lands, meadows, pastures, feedings, woods, underwoods, heaths, mosses, moors, ways, waters, rivers, ponds, pools and all and every the demesnes and demesne grounds whatsoever to the same manor, mansion house and capital messuage belonging or therewithal within the space of fifteen years last past in any wise used, occupied, or enjoyed, with all their appurtenances, in Burtonwood, Great Sankey, Little Sankey and Warrington, or elsewhere within the parishes of Warrington and Prescott, with all and singular woods (except certain parcels of ground in Great Sankey called the High hollyns, the Saltmarsh hollyns, Thieves greave, Margery hey and Penny croft, late in the occupation of Thomas Rixton gentleman, deceased, and then of Nicholas Penketh gentleman ; and also except the Fayre lands meadow, Page croft and Sandy croft in Great Sankey, then in the holding of Randle Rixton gentleman, the said Nicholas Penketh, Christopher Hardman and Edward Mores, and the fishing belonging to the before-excepted premises in Great Sankey brook along the same grounds ; and the tenure, rent and services of the said Richard Bold for his manor of Bold "and his lands in Burton" (which last words are interlined). And the said sir Robert Dudley did further grant all that the barony, manor, fee and seigniorie and lordship of Warrington, and all other those the manors and lordships of Burtonwood, Great Sankey and Little Sankey ; and also all and singular the messuages, houses, mills, cottages, woods, underwoods, mines, quarries, ways, waters, rivers, fishings, fish ponds, rents, reservoirs, services, sack and ward, courts

leet and courts baron, knights' fees, wards, marriages, reliefs, escheats, fairs and markets; and also the patronage and advowson, right of presentation, donation and nomination of the rectory and parish church of Warrington; and all other the estates sometime the right and inheritance of sir Thomas Boteler knight, deceased, great-grandfather of Edward Boteler, late of Bewsey esquire, deceased, in Bewsey, Warrington, Burtonwood, Great Sankey, Little Sankey, Overford, Rixton, Penketh, Culcheth, Astley, Atherton, Lydiate, Eggarth, Thornton, Halsall, Barton, Ince-Blundell, Wyndhull, Windleshaw, Tyldesley, Pesh-furlong, Glasebroke, Pynnington, Leigh, Bedford, Shakerley, Sef-ton and Aughton, and free fishing in the river Mersey. (Lord Lilford's *Deeds*.)

By another deed of the same date sir Robert granted to the said Richard Bold and Thomas Ireland all deeds, evidences, counterpanes, charters, leases, indentures, escripts, terrolls, court rolls, surveys, books of survey, plots, maps, presentments, exemptions, letters patent, copies of patents and grants, boundaries and muniments whatsoever belonging to the premises. And the said sir Robert also covenanted that he and the lady Alice his wife would levy a fine and suffer a recovery of the premises, and also that the premises were free from incumbrances, except certain leases, one of which was a lease of the house, park and demesnes of Bewsey, and of the queen's lands in Great Sankey, made to the said Richard Bold for twenty-one years; and also that he would save the grantees harmless from certain debts of Leicester to the queen, which are scheduled at length. The schedule contained fifty-nine separate items amounting altogether to 27,131*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* It would seem from the items enumerated, some of which are curious, that the earl had helped himself most unscrupulously to the queen's moneys. One of the items runs thus:

"Idem comes 8,406*l.* 9*s.* 10½*d.*, de quâdam firmâ 2,728*l.* 16*s.* 7½*d.* per annum de firmâ imposition. custum. et subsid. tonag. omn. et omnimod. vini vocat. Malmseys, Muscadells, Bastards, Cutts,



Tents, et alia hujus modi generis, Sack, Romneys, Hollocks, Canaries, Madaries, et alia talia vina et etiam omn. et omnimod. vini, Hispan, Portugall, Cand. et præter de Levant sive earum alt. et de com. insul. ejusdem quâ durant. termin. quatuor annor. post datum præsentium eshippantur vel inducantur a partibus exteris et transmarinis in hoc regnum Angliæ." (Lord Lilford's *Deeds*.)

That is, the queen some years before the death of Leycester had granted him for four years the farm of the prisage of wines, and the rent was owing at his death; and after he had been dead nine years there was owing to her majesty for the rent and arrears upon it more than 8,400*l*. A few of the wines mentioned in the lease seem to call for some remark. One of them, that called "Bastard," is alluded to in the humorous scene between prince Hal and the drawer in the first part of Shakspeare's *Henry IV.*, and is said to have been a raisin wine from Corsica. (Glossary to Ellis's *Ancient Ballads*.) "Canary" another of these wines frequently occurs in Shakspeare. "I will to my honest knight, Falstaff, and drink canary with him," says one of his characters; another says, "I have drunk too much canary, and that is a marvellous searching wine;" and then by a natural figure, where the effect is used for the cause, it is said in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, "He has brought her into such canaries." "Sack," which is also mentioned, though it came from the same place as our modern sherry, was not the same wine, but the mere *vin du pays* of the south of Spain. It had no great body for it was kept on draught, and not sipped out of glasses but drunk out of cups and bowls. It must have been rather acid since sugar was usually mixed with it. (*Notes and Queries*, p. 183, 1862.)

This deed severed the last link of the connection between sir Robert Dudley and Warrington.

On the 15th February 39 Elizabeth (1597) John Mainwaring and Margaret his wife sold to Richard Bold and Thomas Ireland and their heirs all the manors and hereditaments which at any

time had been in the possession of sir Thomas Boteler knight the said Margaret's father, or of his grandfather sir Thomas Boteler knight (except the school lands). The consideration for this grant is expressed to be in part money laid out in the purchase of a gold chain for Margaret. It is remarkable that Margaret subscribes this deed with a mark, and not with her name, from which perhaps it is to be inferred that she could not write. (Lord Lilford's *Deeds*.)

Dudley, who derived his love of books from his father and from his uncle Warwick his love of the sea, married first the sister of Cavendish the navigator, whom, following his father's bad example, he afterwards left towards the close of Elizabeth's reign to marry the beautiful Alice Leigh, who is mentioned as his wife in the deeds of 1597. After the accession of James he attempted to establish his legitimacy, and the depositions taken in the Star chamber showed that his father and mother were lawfully married by a proper minister according to the form prescribed by the Church of England. By the interest of Lettice the late earl's third wife, however, the depositions were ordered to be sealed up and not to be afterwards opened or published, and the deponents were censured as having entered into a conspiracy to defame Lettice and unjustly to entitle sir Robert Dudley to the honours enjoyed by his ancestors. The unfairness of this proceeding made him so dissatisfied that he resolved to quit the kingdom, and having obtained a licence to travel for three years he took a journey into Italy. Taking advantage of his absence, however, his adversaries procured a special privy seal commanding him to return, and upon his refusing to do so his lands were seized under the statute of fugitives, and the mesne profits of them applied to his majesty's use. Upon a survey the castle of Kenilworth with the lands adjoining it were found at a low estimate to be worth 38,550*l*. Prince Henry being pleased with the place applied to sir Robert to purchase it, and he, in consideration of 14,500*l*. to be paid within twelve months, agreed to sell it; but the prince dying soon after having paid only

3,000*l.* towards his purchase money, and having paid it to a merchant who failed even that never came to the hands of the owner. Sir Robert, upon leaving England, took with him in the habit of a page the daughter of sir Robert Southwell, whom, when he came to Italy, he married. He took up his abode in Tuscany, where he devised a plan for draining the fens and marshes near Leghorn, by which that place was raised from being but a poor fishing village to be one of the most famous ports of Italy. The reputation of his accomplishments spread into Germany, and the emperor Ferdinand II. by letters patent dated at Vienna 9th March 1620 (Collins's *Peerage*, vol. iii. p. 41) created him a duke, whereupon he called himself earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland. He erected a beautiful palace at Florence, and while his daughters by sir Robert Southwell's daughter married princes of the empire, his five daughters by Alice Legh all married into good families in England. The Pope, it is said, made him a patrician of Rome, and empowered him to create nobles. At Florence he invented the "Earl of Warwick's Powders," a medicine which became popular and continued to be sold in London until lately; and having published a work on navigation, called *Arcano del Mare*, he died at his castle of Carbello, near Florence, in the year 1650. (Collins's *Peerage*, vol. ix. p. 452; Watts's *Bibliotheca*, and *Notes and Queries*, p. 377, 1865.)

## CHAPTER V.

THOMAS IRELAND esquire, afterwards sir Thomas Ireland knight, who was, as we have seen, joint purchaser with Richard Bold of the Boteler estates, and who ultimately became the sole owner of Warrington, was descended from the ancient family of the Irelands of Hutt and Hale, being the son of Robert Ireland of Frodsham gentleman, a cadet of their house. He was born at his father's residence in the year 1560, and was christened at Frodsham church on the 19th October of that year. (From a pedigree prepared by sir Thomas himself in 1605.) It is not known where he received his education, but in 1579 he was admitted of the honourable society of Gray's inn, and was probably called to the bar two years later, when he would be 21. On the 21st June 1584 he married his first wife Margaret Pope, the daughter of a London scrivener, who was probably one of his clients and patrons who helped him to business. In 1587, when he was living at Upton, his first son George Ireland was born. At his baptism, which took place in Farnworth church on the 8th January in that year, George Ireland of the Hutt and George Ireland his uncle were his sponsors, and as his own name was like theirs there were at least three Georges present at the ceremony. It is supposed that the Popes, of whom the great poet of that name afterwards sprang, were a well known family, for one of them, Thomas, was at the expense of obtaining an act (27 Henry VIII. c. 57) to assure some lands to himself. The marriage between Thomas Ireland and Margaret Pope, which motives of interest had conspired to bring about, did not prove a happy one. The parties quarrelled, and not long after the marriage her father offered to take her back if her husband would

restore the portion he had received with her. This not being agreed to, the quarrels continued some time longer, and at length a treaty of separation was proposed, but this also came to nothing, and it was at last determined to attempt to set aside the marriage on the ground of a pre-contract. For this purpose a suit was commenced, in which it was proved by two witnesses and admitted by Margaret herself, who seems to have showed no unwillingness to be released from Thomas Ireland, that in the October before their marriage she was married in her father's house by a contract *per verba de presenti* to one William Lightwood, who was then in her father's service, upon which on the 16th June 1592, a definitive sentence of divorce between her and Thomas Ireland was pronounced, and she was very shortly afterwards married to Thomas Lightwood in the church. Unless her contract with Lightwood had been consummated it was actually void under the statute 32 Henry VIII. c. 38, and her marriage with Thomas Ireland was good and could not be set aside on the ground of pre-contract. The whole proceedings however seem to have been very loose. It was proved in them that Thomas Ireland knew of the pre-contract with Lightwood very soon after his marriage, and yet that until 1588 or 1589 he continued to cohabit with Margaret, which makes the story of the pre-contract look very like a pretence and the dissolution of the marriage like an affair of collusion. Thomas Ireland had thriven in his profession, and was now able no doubt to pay back Margaret's fortune.

Before the 20th July 36 Elizabeth (1594) he had married for his second wife another Margaret, the daughter of sir Thomas Aston of Aston, and in a post-nuptial settlement of the above date he is described as being then of Roby.

On the 16th April 1594 Ferdinando fifth earl of Derby died of poison, leaving three daughters and no male issue. These daughters having claimed the lordship of the Isle of Man a dispute arose with their uncle the next earl, who also claimed it; and some law proceedings were commenced about it in which Mr.

Ireland was of counsel. These were still going forward on the 20th November 1595, for on that day the earl of Cumberland, George Clifford of "armada" celebrity, who had evidently no very exalted opinion of Mr. Ireland, wrote this letter to the lord treasurer Burleigh :

"My good Lo. — If want of health had not stayed me, before this I had waited upon your Lo., and let you knowe boothe what I perseve my Lo. of Darby's coarces ar, and also theirs who advise, follow, and depend upon him; to longe and intricate it would be to trouble your Lo. with now, soe I will forbare till more fittingly I may attend you. Hearing that your Lo. hath appoynted Mr. Ireland to be with you this day, I thought good to desire your Lo. to euse him with kynd speeches and not to seem but that you beleve he hath delte most honestly in thes courses with his Lo., else I feare me in a desperate eumer he may perhaps doe what hardly againe may be helped. And I dare assure your Lo. this conveance effected, though but as it is, other thynges after will easily be effected to your Lo. contentment. Thus hartely thanckying your Lo. for your care of him who cares not for himselfe, I ende ever your Lo. to command,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND."

(*Hist. Craven*, p. 273.)

Like other suits in that age when people might justly reckon the "law's delay" amongst the troubles of life, this suit about the Isle of Man went on until July 1609, and was at last then settled by an agreement which was confirmed by an act of parliament passed on the 7th July in that year.

The purchase of the Boteler estates by Bold and Ireland having been completed on the 11th February 1597 the two purchasers had afterwards to divide their purchase; and on the 11th April 1597, by an indenture made between Richard Bold of the one part and Thomas Ireland, then of Childwall, of the other, after reciting the purchase which the parties had made jointly, and also reciting that they had also jointly purchased for a term of 2000 years, from the earl of Derby and Edward Stanley esquire, a messuage and lands in Warrington, it was agreed that all the

said purchased premises (except the rectory, parsonage and parsonage house of Warrington, and all the glebe or glebe lands, tithes and perquisites thereto, and except one of the mills called Sankey mills, viz. that nearest to Sankey, and except a moiety of the little parcel of waste ground adjoining such mill for the use of the same mill), should thenceforth be the property of the said Thomas Ireland, his heirs and assigns. And the said Thomas Ireland thereby granted to the said Richard Bold the first avoidance and presentment to the church of Warrington, reserving the second presentment to himself, and it was further agreed between the parties that for the next 140 years they should have alternate presentments to the said church. (Lord Lilford's *Deeds*.)

It would almost seem that Mr. Bold, in the purchase of Warrington, had only been acting throughout as Mr. Ireland's friend and trustee. Cotemporary with this conveyance, there was prepared and delivered to Mr. Ireland a most minute verbal description of the boundaries of his purchase. In August 1597 the queen wanting money to prosecute the war in Ireland issued out letters of privy seal requiring the loan of money from her subjects which would be repaid *ad Græcas Calendas*. If any of these letters reached the new owners of Warrington and Bewsey, they would think that their purchase, long as it had been delayed, had been completed a little too soon.

On the 11th January 1598 Prudence Bold, who had acquired some interest in the mote-hills and the tithe corn of Warrington, released her interest to Mr. Ireland. In this deed, and in another bearing date a month later, Mr. Ireland is described as of Bewsey. It does not appear however that he was then living at the hall, for in another deed of the 12th April following he is again described as of Childwall. (Lord Lilford's *Deeds*.)

The brood of seekers for concealed lands was not yet extinct. Two new candidates now appear, but hardly in their original invidious character, for they did what they did as friends of Mr. Ireland. Of one of these, Richard Tylney, nothing is known :

the name is not a local one. But Henslowe in his *Diary* often mentions an Edmund Tylney, the master of king James's revels. Humphrey Davenport the other was a Cheshire man, the son of William Davenport of Bramhall, who, adopting the law as his profession, became a serjeant, in 1629 was made a judge of the common pleas and knighted, and was afterwards on the 16th January 1631 made chief baron of the exchequer. While he filled this latter office a meeting of the judges was held, in which they agreed to certain rules as to their robes and how they should be worn. In his early career, and while he was still a serjeant, sir Humphrey had lived at Sutton near Macclesfield. In the *Lansdowne MSS.* (vol. ii. pp. 616-17) there is his argument on ship money, and it was possibly for this that he was impeached and lost his office in 1642, which sir Richard Lane was appointed to fill on the 26th May 1643. (*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 514, 530.) A memoir of him is given in Barlow's *Cheshire and its Historical Associations*, vol. ii. p. 115.

On the 5th March 42 Elizabeth 1600 Davenport and Tylney obtained from the queen letters patent granting to them and their heirs the manors of Burtonwood, Sankey and Warrington, with their rights, members and appurtenances, formerly the inheritance of sir Thomas Boteler knight, deceased, and George Colwich esquire, or of one of them; and also all messuages, lands and hereditaments and all franchises as fully as one William Boteler or sir John Boteler knight, or sir Thomas Boteler knight, son of the aforesaid sir John or the aforesaid Thomas, son of the aforesaid Thomas Boteler, enjoyed the same. (Lord Lilford's *Deeds*.)

On the 11th June 1600 Mr. Bold and Mr. Ireland presented a petition in the duchy chamber, in which they recite that in the 16 Henry VIII. sir Thomas Boteler, by a common recovery, conveyed the manors of Burtonwood, Sankey and Warrington to the use of the king's majesty, his heirs and successors; and they also recite that the said sir Thomas Boteler obtained a regrant of all the premises to him and his heirs, under the seal of



the county palatine of Lancaster only. And they further recite that afterwards the said sir Thomas died, and Edward Boteler his grandson conveyed the said premises to the earl of Leycester and his heirs, who likewise made a conveyance to sir Robert Dudley knight, who had lately sold the same to the said Richard Bold and Thomas Ireland and their heirs. And they lastly recite that they (the said petitioners) finding the imperfection of the said grant so made to the said sir Thomas Boteler, through its having been made under the seal of the county palatine of Lancaster only, had procured from her majesty for divers sums of money a grant in fee simple of the said premises to two of their friends, Richard Tylney and Humphrey Davenport, wherein the tenure of the said manors was reserved of her majesty in capite as in right of her crown of England, that is to say, the tenure of the said manor of Burtonwood in socage in capite by the rent of 1*d.* a year, and of the said manors of Sankey and Warrington, in knight's service in capite. And the petitioners thereupon prayed to be discharged of the said tenures, rent, and homage to be paid unto the officers of the said duchy, and the order was made as prayed. (Lord Lilford's *Deeds*.)

On the 11th June 1600 Tylney and Davenport conveyed to Thomas Ireland and Richard Bold their respective parts of the purchased premises.

Mr. Ireland's circumstances still continuing to prosper, he added to his acquisition of Warrington in the year 1601 a purchase of one half of Latchford from Thomas Brooke esquire.

On the 15th February in the same year he sold and released to John Shuttleworth, trustee for John Culcheth esquire, for the sum of c. marks, all his rights of and in the tenures, suits, services, wards, homages and reliefs in Culcheth, part of the barony of Warrington. (*Culcheth Charters*.)

On the allowance of the maimed prisoners' ley (one of the old local rates of the county) at Lancaster assizes, on the 2nd April in this year, Thomas Ireland was one of the justices who allowed and signed it. (Gregson's *Fragments*, p. 14.)

On the 24th March 1603, queen Elizabeth having died at Richmond at three a.m., sir Robert Cary who obtained early private information of the event between nine and ten the same morning took horse in London and arrived at Doncaster, a distance of one hundred and fifty-five miles, in the evening; on the next day he rode to Morpeth, a further distance of one hundred and thirty-seven miles; and on the following day he reached Edinburgh, a distance of one hundred and five miles. When he arrived the king was in bed, but the bearer of such news was at once admitted to his chamber, where he immediately saluted James as "king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland."

On the 31st March 1 James (1603), seven days after the queen's demise, the county of Lancaster met at Wigan to vote a loyal address to her successor, and Thomas Ireland, who had very probably prepared it, was one of a great number of county gentlemen who signed it.

In the first year of the new reign Mr. Ireland sued out a general pardon from the crown, which was intended as a sort of act to wipe out and bury in oblivion all offences either of omission or commission which he had or might be supposed to have ever committed before that time.

In the same year Mr. Ireland, who was evidently yet rising in his profession, gained still further promotion, being appointed one of the king's counsel for the duchy of Lancaster.

In the year 1607, when proceedings were instituted in the duchy chamber to recover the lands which had been alienated from the grammar school, Mr. Ireland informed the court that the earl of Leycester had obtained a grant of all those lands as being concealed lands, and that he (Mr. Ireland) was quite willing to restore them to the school, and he then offered to do so. This bad practice of seeking and obtaining grants of concealed lands, so common in the time of Elizabeth, was followed at a later period in the case of the Jesuits and others. The first earl of Warrington, who perhaps was, as has been said, rapacious, had a grant of all such lands belonging to the Jesuits as could

be discovered in five or six counties (Macaulay's *Hist. Eng.*, vol. iii. p. 539); and some other remarkable attempts to obtain lands in the same way took place in 1694. (*Trials of the Jacobites at Manchester*, p. 1 *et seq.*, Chetham soc.)

In 1609 the judges, returning from Chester assizes, stayed one night at Warrington, and this was their tavern bill: Two suppers and two breakfasts for the whole of the travelling party, including beds, lvj<sup>s</sup>; house, iij<sup>s</sup> vjd; poore, xij<sup>d</sup>; tobacco and pipes, vjd; three pints of wine, xvij<sup>s</sup>; more to the poore, xij<sup>d</sup>; horse-meat, xix<sup>s</sup>. (*Shuttleworth Accounts.*)\*

\* The following original letter to one of Mr. Ireland's relatives, though not immediately connected with his affairs, has been thought worth preserving here:

"After o' hartie comendacons: whereas complaint hathe bin made unto us that you doe withhold the turbarie due unto the Lo: bishoppe of the isle of Manne and deny him his servants and famelie libertie of passage from the Iland into England and of retorne from thence in their occasions and at convenient tymes And that you have not onlie oppressed the said Lord bishoppe w<sup>th</sup> your authoritie of government there but have alsoe hindred and restrayned the Eccl<sup>i</sup>asticall governm<sup>t</sup> ever heretofore executed and exercised w<sup>th</sup>in that Iland by the bishoppe and clergie under him (as it ought to be both for the glorie of God and the publique good of that place) for the prooffe wee hold it necessarie before wee censure you to examyne some witnesses and that in the meane time you give waie to the usuall p<sup>r</sup>ceedinge of th' ecclesiasticall court and retorne the seale thereunto belonging together with the coppie of the booke conteyninge th' eccl<sup>i</sup>asticall Lawes. And wee doe will and require you to allowe the said turbarie under suche rent and as freelie as hereto fore it hathe bin. And that you give Lycence as well to his L<sup>r</sup>ppe his servants and famelie as to such witnesses whome his L<sup>r</sup>ppe shall noiate to passe unto such pts of England as they shall thinke fitt either for the provinge of their suggestions or for the dispatch of their necessarie busynes. And that you attend in person the right ho<sup>b</sup>le or verie good ladie the countesse of Darbie at such tyme and place as shee shall please to command you. And forasmuch as his L<sup>r</sup>ppe hathe taken great paynes in translatinge the booke of Comon Prayer into the Mannishe tongue beinge the naturall language of that Iland wherebie the people may be the better edified in their understandinge of the word of God Wee doe require you to comand the clergie residinge w<sup>th</sup>in that Iland to attend his L<sup>r</sup>ppe in p<sup>r</sup>ringe and examinacyon of that booke to th' end it may be ymprinted and published. And even soe comitt you to God. from Whitehall this xv<sup>th</sup> of June 1611.

Yo<sup>r</sup> lovinge frendes

R. Salisbury.

Suffolke.

To our very lovinge frend John Ireland esquier Lieuuten<sup>t</sup> of the Isle of Manne."

(From the original formerly in the possession of the late Joseph Wagstaff, esq.)

On the 4th December 1614 and the 2nd January following, the lease made to Richard Bold of Bewsey hall for twenty-one years from 1594 being about to expire, an inventory was drawn up of the goods then in and about the house. Amongst them, under "charges belonging to husbandry at my lord Orrell's goinge away" were, "imprimis, ploughs, vij<sup>d</sup> each." Lord Orrell was probably no more than William Orrell of Turton esquire, the husband of Mary Ireland, daughter of George Ireland, who had occupied Bewsey as Mr. Bold's tenant. He was no doubt indebted to the scribe and not to the crown for his peer's title. Other articles were "a bed with furniture at the scole Mr's" — probably the master of the grammar school: "Lynnens in Margaret Garrard's charge." A person of this name was living at Bewsey and took a legacy under sir Thomas Ireland's will in 1625. "Item a cheiste in the old closet with boundes for Mr. Sonkye's children, with some other ragges." "Item one turn candesticke to houlde two candles," which may remind us of Hotspur's dislike to hear "a brazen candlesticke turn." "Item a little deske with sir Thomas Aston's arms thereon." "Item a friere, a nunne to drink inne." A carriage and horses occur in the inventory; a great number of pewter plates and dishes are mentioned and a few trenchers, but there are only eight earthenware plates. Many other particulars of this inventory have been printed in Dr. Kendrick's contributions to the *History of Warrington*. But singularly enough in this old house there appears not to have been a single weapon of any kind. It was very different in another inventory taken at Hartingfordburye a few years later, where we find armour for xj horsemen and ix footmen; "one caliver," the weapon which Falstaff ordered Bardolph to put into Wart's hand; "one sword, one dagger, one crossbow, one petronel," the weapon spoken of in *Rokeby*, "'twas then I fired my petronel!" Perhaps the difference in the two houses was that the one had been long in the occupation of its hereditary owner, and the other had only been occupied by a tenant.

The arrows which did such service at Flodden continued to be

manufactured at Warrington, as we learn from an entry in the Parish register of the 11th February in this year.

In the year 1615 Mr. Ireland had the misfortune to lose his second wife, Margaret (Aston). She died at Bewsey, whither her husband had removed after the expiration of Mr. Bold's lease, and she was buried at Warrington on the 26th November in that year. (Lord Lilford's *Papers*.)

On the 2nd December Mr. Ireland married a third wife, lady Susan Pemberton, the daughter of sir Thomas Cheeke and the widow of sir Goddard Pemberton knight, who was probably of Rushden in Northamptonshire. The settlement made upon this marriage bears date the 2nd December in the above year. (*Ibid.*)

In 1617 the king having paid a visit to Scotland returned home through Lancashire, making his journey a sort of royal progress, after the fashion indulged in by Elizabeth. He was attended by Morton bishop of Chester, his chaplain; Villiers his cupbearer and master of the horse; the earl of Pembroke, chancellor of the university of Oxford; sir Edmund Trafford the high sheriff, and a great number of other noblemen and gentlemen. At Preston, on the 15th August, he had been met by the mayor and corporation, and welcomed with a speech. From Preston he was escorted to Hoghton tower, where he was to be the guest of its owner. He was received by him and a great number of his friends and neighbours wearing cloaks of his livery. His majesty knighted his host sir Richard Hoghton, who entertained him with hunting and other out-door sports in the morning, and with banquets, mumming and interludes in the house and grounds in the evening. An old account shows that there were at the banquet some fowls, birds and dishes which seem strange to us now; as, for instance, roast swans, hot roast herons and the same cold, boiled sprod, cold curlew spred, roast curlews (this was at a time when it was said

"The curlew, whether white or black,  
Carries tenpence on its back")

and hot mince pies, a dish which we should now think out of season at that time of the year.

At one of the feasts here the king, who did not want wit though we laugh at his pedantry, observed that if a whole carcase of beef was called a baron, he thought that choice piece the loin should at least be a knight, and he dubbed it "sir loin" accordingly.

On the 18th the king passed on to Lathom, where he was entertained by the earl of Derby with similar hospitality; and on Wednesday the 20th he arrived at Bewsey and was received by Mr. Ireland and many gentlemen his friends, who came to meet him. Amongst these were, no doubt, sir Thomas Tildesley of Orford, attorney-general of the duchy; sir Gilbert Ireland of the Hutt; and Richard Bold esquire. No gossiping guest has left us a record how the king was entertained, or whether Archie Armstrong his jester's well-known powers of wit and raillery alone and unassisted sufficed to supply the want of the greater appliances which were at the command of the king's late host at Hoghton. The king only remained at Bewsey until the next day, and was satisfied we presume with his entertainer for he knighted both him and sir Lewis Pemberton, sir Goddard's son, before he passed on to Rock Savage to become the guest of sir Thomas Savage. (*Hist. Lanc.*, vol. iii. p. 562n.)

It was in this progress that the king noticed the absence of games amongst the people which led to the issue of his too celebrated *Book of Sports*, and probably to the less celebrated commission to seize for the king's use all bears and dogs (it is presumed at a price to be paid for them), which led to the curious proceedings against Ralph Barnes and others of Warrington. (Dr. Kendrick's *Notices of the Early History of Warrington*. From Alleyn's *Memoirs* by the Shakspeare soc.)

Sir Thomas was again a widower, having lost his third wife, lady Susan, before the 5th May 1620, for on that day counsel's

opinion was taken as to her property at Hartingfordburys, where she had died. Sir Thomas had no issue by lady Susan.

On the 26th December 19 James I. (1621) the earl of Derby, chamberlain of the county palatine of Chester, appointed sir Thomas to be his vice-chamberlain.

On the 22nd September 20 James I. (1622) sir Thomas released to the Tyldesleys of Wordley in Tyldesley, which was part of the barony of Warrington, all his claim to knight's service in respect of that place.

On or about the 15th October 20 James I. (1622) sir Thomas married a fourth wife, Margaret, daughter of William Lloyd of Halton esquire and widow of John Jeffries esquire. The settlement on this marriage bears date on the above day. (Lord Lilford's *Papers*.)

On the 20th December in the same year the prince of Wales, by his writ of privy seal, appointed him to be one of his counsel at law during pleasure, with a salary of 10*l.* a year. (*Cheshire Recog. Rolls*.)

Sir Thomas, though not yet old in years, began now to feel his busy, bustling life and his anxious pursuit of wealth and preferment tell upon him, and feeling that he was near his end he made his will on the 4th July 1625, by which he directed that his body should be committed to the earth without pomp. "In regard that his estate was sore burdened with debts," and recollecting that he owed something to Edward Sankey, he bequeathed him an annuity of 40*s.* a year for his life. He died on the 12th July following, and his body was interred beside his wife Margaret (Aston's) in the Boteler chantry, on the 17th July, under a stone inlaid with brass. A copy of sir Thomas Ireland's certificate has been printed in the *Lancashire Funeral Certificates* published by the Chetham society (p. 49).

Sir Thomas's encumbered estate seems to have been the consequence of his own over haste to be the owner of broad acres, and to his accumulating them faster than he had means to pay for them. In his later years he felt the vanity as well as the

inconvenience of this passion. He is to be commended for so readily offering to restore to the grammar school what had been alienated from it as concealed lands. He was once thought to have been the author of an abridgement of lord Coke's *Reports*, and a like abridgement of Dyer's *Reports*; but the credit of both these works belongs to another Ireland, of another family, and not to our sir Thomas. There were many circumstances in his career to trouble him. His over hasty marriage with Margaret Pope, to which the fortune she brought him was one inducement and the hope of finding in her father a client who could advance him was another, ended, as it was likely to do, unhappily.

His connection with the Sankeys deserves a little longer notice. Edward Sankey, the grandfather of the Edward to whom sir Thomas left an annuity, owned a capital messuage called Little Sankey house, situated in Little Sankey, and divers lands, tenements and hereditaments belonging to it, with two water mills in Little Sankey and twenty or more messuages with the lands thereto belonging in Little Sankey and Warrington, of which he died seized about the year 1615, leaving Thomas Sankey, then an infant under age, his son and heir. As the lands were held of the crown by knight's service, sir Thomas applied for and obtained a grant of the heir's wardship and marriage. This heir, having a personal estate in horses, cattle, bedding and other household effects to the value of 200*l.*, by marrying without his guardian's consent, had put himself very much in his power, and when he came of age shortly afterwards he made a will and appointed his late guardian his executor. Though of an ancient race the Sankeys seem not to have been long-lived. Thomas, Edward's son and heir, had scarcely come of age when he died, leaving an only son Edward, then aged only three years, his heir. Again entering upon the estates sir Thomas received the rents and never proved the will; but when the son Edward was thirteen he persuaded him to take out letters of administration to his father, with the will annexed, promising to account to



him for the effects. Shortly afterwards however, sir Thomas Ireland being in possession of his estate and effects, Edward left England and spent some years in travel, of which and this early traveller's adventures we should be glad to hear more. Returning home after sir Thomas's death he filed a bill in chancery against his son and executor, in which he prayed for an account of his father's estate and the restoration of his Sankey lands. If the story as told in his bill were true, sir Thomas, with a view to make his peace, had good reason to leave him the annuity he did, and the earl of Cumberland had reason to think sir Thomas not a man to be trusted.

Margaret Jeffreys, sir Thomas's fourth wife, by whom he had no issue, survived him, and afterwards returned into Wales and married one of the Trevors—two of whom, sir John Trevor and Thomas Trevor, on the 10th March 1630, were parties to a re-conveyance then made to Thomas Ireland. Dame Margaret is mentioned as still living in the inquisition post mortem taken on the 3rd September 1639, after Thomas Ireland's death. Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors* (vol. iii. p. 500), tells us that the grandmother of the notorious lord chancellor Jeffreys, well pleased to see the blood of the Irelands break out, offered to contribute out of her jointure towards his support when he was a student. He was the son of Margaret, dame Margaret Aston's daughter, and if so the dowress who supported Jeffreys must have been Margaret Jeffreys.

Sir Thomas Ireland's children were :

(1.) George Ireland, his son by his first wife Margaret Pope. In 1597 he held a tenement in Warrington under his father, valued at iv<sup>s</sup> a year. (Gregson's *Fragments*, p. 21.) He was entered of Gray's inn, and married about 1622 Eleanor daughter of Alexander Standish esquire, the widow of Henry Bannister of Bank, and died s.p. in 1633. (Note in *Lanc. Funeral Certificates*, p. 50.) He was buried at Shreveton. Margaret, his only child married a Clifton in 1607. When Randle Holme

visited Bewsey and gave a certificate for the Herald's college of the particulars of sir Thomas Ireland's family, he took no notice either of his first marriage or the birth of his son George, though he had probably before him the entry made by sir Thomas himself on the subject.

(2.) Elizabeth, born at Childwall on the 16th October 1595. Lady Derby, her aunt Dodd sister to sir Thomas, and Lawrence Ireland his cousin were sponsors. On the 20th April 1614 she married William Bancks of Winstanley, afterwards member of parliament for Liverpool.

(3.) Elinor, born at Aston on the 27th September 1597, who married that John Atherton esquire of Atherton who is said to have put up the pictures of the swan and the sparrow-hawk in Leigh church, and was some time high-sheriff, a justice of the peace and a captain under Cromwell, and of such power in Leigh that no man durst oppose him. (*Lanc. Chuntries*, vol. ii. p. 272.)

(4.) Jane, died an infant.

(5.) Margaret, died an infant.

(6.) Thomas, who succeeded his father, was born at Bewsey on the 8th September 1602.

(7.) Margaret, born at Bewsey on the 11th April 1604, was married at Bewsey on the 22nd December, when she was only nine years old, to Henry Byrom of Byrom gentleman, who was only four.\* Though the marriage took place at Bewsey it is mentioned

\* In the windows of the old hall at Bewsey are three pieces of stained glass. The centre piece has a sun dial upon it with the hours marked round the margin, and a round hole in the glass in which to put a temporary gnomon, and at the top the motto "ne glorieris in crastinum;" in the middle a lion is represented rolling a golden globe with its foot. Both side pieces have for the crest an urchin *or* on a wreath *vert*, and *or* upon a knight's helmet. The arms of the first piece are *vert*, a chevron *or* between three fleurs-de-lis *or*. The arms of the second piece are quarterly, first and fourth as above; third, *sable*, three urchins *or*; second, *sable*, a fesse dancetté *or*, each charged with three demi-lions rampant, *ermine* *or*, between three roundles *or*, each charged with an escallop shell, *sable*. These arms of Byrom were no doubt intended to commemorate Margaret Ireland's marriage with Henry Byrom. The Parish registers in sir Thomas Ireland's time show that there were both recusants and puritans in Warrington; the former are mentioned in the burials and the latter in the baptisms.

in the Warrington register. In July 1622 Henry Byrom applied to have this marriage set aside, and a sentence of divorce was pronounced in the following August. He was afterwards twice married, and in 1642 he fell in the battle of Keynton, fighting on the king's side. (*Byrom's Remains*, vol. ii. p. 10.) After her divorce from Henry Byrom Margaret married John Jeffreys, by whom she became the mother of the notorious Jeffreys, who is said to have been the sixth son of his father and mother. Sydney Smith tells us to his honour that he forfeited the favour of James II. by refusing to renounce his protestanism. Margaret Jeffreys died at Bewsey on the 9th May 1661, and was buried at Warrington. A portrait of her husband, painted by Peter Lely, is said to have hung on the walls at Bewsey.

(8.) Robert, born on the 24th June 1605 and admitted of Gray's inn on the 30th July 1608, being then only three years old. According to Randle Holme's certificate he was still unmarried in 1637.

## CHAPTER VI.

THOMAS IRELAND esquire, who succeeded his father of both his names was born at Bewsey on the 8th September 1602, and was soon afterwards baptized at Warrington church by Mr. Ashworth rector, having for sponsors sir Thomas Aston knight, John Ireland esquire of the Hutt, and lady Molyneux.

That objectionable custom known to modern times of making children in petticoats commanders of regiments found a precedent in the practice of some learned societies in ancient times. On the 30th July 1608, when Thomas Ireland was not six and his brother Robert only about three years old, both hardly out of petticoats, they were entered of the honorable society of Gray's inn. But petticoats lead more naturally to scarlet gowns than to red coats. There must have been some advantage of precedence to be gained by this early entry at an inn of court, for the great lord Holt was only ten when he was entered of the above inn. (Campbell's *Chief Justices*, vol. ii. p. 122.)

On the 23rd October 1619 Mr. Ireland was admitted a fellow commoner of St. John's college, Cambridge, though Wood in his *Fasti* erroneously makes him out to have been of Merton college, Oxford, and ascribes to him the abridgements of Coke's and Dyer's *Reports* which were the work of another Thomas Ireland, who was altogether of a different family and who thus may also have been the person whom Wood says was of Merton college.

On the 8th October 1625 Mr. Ireland married Margaret, the second daughter of sir Thomas Stanley of Alderley knight. The marriage took place at Chester, and a copy of the settlement is preserved in the Harleian collection. (*Catalogue*, vol. ii. No. 38320.)

When the great lawyer, sir Edward Coke, was adding field to field and manor to manor, king James I., in order to check his passion for accumulating land, one day told him he would only allow him to purchase one acre more. The cunning lawyer bowed assent and soon afterwards purchased Castle acre, which though called an acre was in reality a great manor, and thus he had his laugh against the king. It had been well if the king had restrained this passion in the late sir Thomas Ireland, for with the same passion he had not the same ample means at his command as sir Edward had to justify it. He passed a lifetime in the constant struggle to acquire a large landed estate, and its consequences made him anxious in his last moments. Scarcely had his son entered upon the property before he was compelled to part with a good portion of which Warrington a cherished possession formed a part.

According to a rental drawn out by Mr. Ireland in 1627, it appears that nearly the whole of Warrington was then let on leases for a life or lives and a term of years. Thus it was said "Hugh Hankinson holdeth a parcel of land called Butler's chantry, conteyning one acre and one rood land, for the life of Richard Hankinson and 21 years; Mr. Pickering, schoolmaster, for Garnet's; John Dycheffeld for Norris fish yord, rent beside sparlings xx<sup>s</sup>." Amongst the chief rent tenants one is entered as "pedagogus 1*d*." There was fishing at Longford and these boon services: "Every plowe land two dayes werk with a teame, and two dayes work with a laborer yearely, and every ancient cottage that was Butler's, a daie work with a harrowe, and a daie worke with a laborer, 36 plows at 4*s*. 8*d*.; 40 harrows at 7*d*.; 66 shearers and fillers of muck 4*d*." These long leases had been made upon fines by which sir Thomas hoped to be relieved of his difficulties.

Soon after making this rental Mr. Ireland entered into a treaty to sell the barony of Warrington, but without Bewsey or Burtonwood, to William Booth esquire of Dunham, and on the back of the rental just mentioned this memorandum is endorsed:

"Schedule, survey-boke, and valuation of the barony of Warrington, the tyme of the contract and bargaine made, the date of paiement of the sum of 7,300*l.* and how the money was raised for that paiement," and also the following memorandum :

Concerning the rents called ould rents, beinge..... £129 12 6

It appears by the boke that the best pte of these  
are in lease for 1, 2, and 3 lives, and for 21 and  
51 years in rev'cion thereof, and that to the  
valewe of 40*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* or thereabouts..... 40 3 0

That there is in towne cottages, shopps, cellars,  
and such like rents to the valewe of ..... 29 9 6

For rack rents..... 34 4 0

Chief rents..... 4 5 9

(Sir Edward Fitton sold such a chief rent to  
George Leycester at 60 years' value. Sir  
Peter Leycester *lib.* c. 23.)

The seignory and perquisites, a commendā tithe,  
hemp, and flax..... 3 0 0

The horse mill..... 65 0 0

Toule corne..... 24 0 0

Faires ..... 50 0 0

Tythes and parsonage..... 50 0 0

---

£300 0 0

Which 300*l.* at 13 years' purchase makes.....£3,900 0 0

That the remainder of the said ould rents con-  
ceeed to be in lease for 1, 2, and 3 lives, and  
some of them rented at 5*s.* and 6*s.* 8*d.* per acre,  
the littell measure, are 60*l.* or thereabouts,  
which at 50 years' purchase is..... 3,000 0 0

---

£6,900 0 0

This offer was delivered at Warrington,  
the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> December, 1627, by me  
WILLIAM ROWCROFT."

The process of bargaining seems to have been tedious, for with the rental there is another memorandum, which is as follows :

" Meeting at Dunham, upon Thursdaie, the xxvij<sup>th</sup> November, 1628. At this time the parties could not agree, Mr. Ireland increased his demand.

" At Thelwall, uppon Thursdaie the xxvij<sup>th</sup> December, 1628. At this time the parties agreed on the sum of 7,300*l.* for the prise of the whole manor of Warrington, and all Mr. Ireland's right in the same, as well for the tythe corne thereof, and Littell Sankey, and that barne and buildings thereto belonging, and the stable, onely there was excepted to Mr. Ireland the right of patronage of the Parish church (and the Grammar school, which is named in another place), Little Sankey, and the demesne of Bewsey, and no more in that revenue, and the daies of paiement are to be agreed on at Dunham, uppon Monday at nighte, beinge the xxix of December, 1628, where Mr. Ireland will be God willing.

WILLIAM ROWCROFT, 1628."

On the 1st February 1629 a contract was entered into between Mr. Ireland and Mr. William Booth, the son and heir apparent of sir George Booth of Dunham Massey, by which Mr. Ireland agreed that he would, on or before the 1st of May then next, convey to Mr. Booth the manor of Warrington, the lordship or hamlet of Orford with Arpley, two acres in Burtonwood called Wilmer's meadowing, and all the messuages in Warrington and all manner of rents, fishings and courts, with a fishing at Longford, and also all manner of tolls and stallages belonging to the fairs and markets, with the friar church and chantry lands ; also the horse milne in the said town, with a windmill and two acres of land in Arpley. And it was agreed that the hamlet or lordship of Little Sankey, with the waste grounds thereof, should remain to the said Mr. Ireland, with the fishing within the said hamlet or lordship of Little Sankey, reserving to the manor and seigniory of Warrington such services and privileges as had been theretofore used and accustomed. (Upon this, by some con-

temporary hand, is written, "customs, tolls and landing of boats coming to Sankey bridge pass not in any conveyance to Mr. Booth.") It was further agreed that Mr. Ireland should have all such enclosures and improvements of grounds as were enclosed and improved off the wastes within Warrington and then laid to Little Sankey, also certain grounds adjoining and parcel of the demesne of Bewsey, according to a particular survey concluded and agreed upon by the servants of the parties. The said Mr. Ireland also agreed to grant to the said Mr. Booth all such estate and term of years as was then remaining to the said Mr. Ireland in all the tithe corn and grain within Warrington, Little Sankey, Orford and Arpley, subject to a rent of 4*l.* to sir Peter Legh and his heirs in respect of the premises, and to a rent of 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to the king's majesty for the friar's church and other chantry lands within Warrington, in consideration whereof the said Mr. Booth covenanted to pay Mr. Ireland the sum of 7,300*l.*

The long alliance between Warrington and Bewsey was then dissolved, and henceforth the two properties had different owners. Necessity compelled Mr. Ireland to part with Warrington, but he must have felt the parting from it painful.

He was soon obliged to dispose of another of his father's acquisitions, and in 5 Charles I. (1630) one half of Latchford, which lay so near to Warrington, floated from its moorings, having been sold by Mr. Ireland, his brother and feoffees, to Thomas Blackburne esquire, brother of the purchaser of Newton. (*Hist. Chesh.*, vol. i. p. 446.)

On the 11th June 1631 three of the traders of Warrington were summoned to appear there before the clerk of the market of his majesty's household to adjust their weights and measures. The duty of this clerk of the market, which seems to have resembled our modern inspection of such articles, is explained in the *Cotton MSS.*, p. 469, margin.

In 1636, when Richard Braithwaite under his *nom de plume* came from Wigan to Warrington he found the place flooded, and wrote thus :



“Thence to Warrington banks o'erflowed,  
 Travellers to the town were rowed,  
 Where, supposing it much better  
 To be drowned on land than water,  
 Sweetly, neatly I sojourned,  
 Till that deluge thence returned.”

On the 16th December 1634, when Burtonwood chapel was consecrated by the bishop of Chester, Mr. Ireland attended as one of the witnesses to the ceremony.

The next year, when there was a levy of ship money, the Lancashire towns paid as follows :

Lancaster .....	£30	0	0
Preston .....	40	0	0
Wigan .....	50	0	0
Liverpool .....	25	0	0
Clitheroe ..	7	10	0
Newton .....	7	10	0

(*Foundations of Manchester*, vol. iii. p. 259.)

Warrington seems not to have been called upon for a contribution. The other towns, if called upon for any tax now, would be rated in very different proportions from these.

In 1636, when William ffarrington the high sheriff was fined for some supposed neglect of duty, a proceeding which the county thought one of some hardship, Mr. Ireland joined the other gentlemen of the county in praying the fine might be mitigated or remitted. (*Farrington Papers*, p. 29, Chetham soc.)

On the 23rd August 13 Charles I. (1637) he joined the other magistrates assembled at Lancaster assizes in laying the usual prisoner's ley. (Gregson's *Fragments*, p. 15.)

In the same year Mr. Ireland, mindful of the very ancient stock from which his family sprang, thought it necessary to patronise the heralds, and he accordingly employed Randle Holme to emblazon two shields of his family, in each of which there were these six coats: Ireland, Hesketh, Holland, Colum-

bers, Walton and Merton of Bebington. It was perhaps for employing Holme, who was but a pseudo herald, that Mr. Ireland is severely blamed in the *Lancashire Funeral Certificates*, p. 51 (Chetham soc).

On the 31st May 1637 the Warrington register records the burial of William Ayere, the butler at Bewsey.

From the year 1629 to 1638 Mr. Ireland was a regular attendant at the Warrington vestry meetings, and as regularly signed the parish books.

On the 14th January 1639 he made his will, and two days afterwards he died at Bewsey, at the early age of 36, and was buried at Warrington on the 22nd February following.

On the 14th February 1640, that is within a year after his death, the register records the burial of Mrs. Margaret Ireland, his widow.

The issue of Thomas and Margaret Ireland were :

(1.) Thomas, their eldest son, who was born at Chester and died the same day.

(2.) Margaret, their only other child, who was born at Warrington on the 31st July 1630, in the lower Butler's chamber (this may be in the rectory which Mr. Ireland in his will calls the mansion house and dwelling place of the parsonage at Warrington).

By his will Mr. Ireland directed that he should be buried in his chapel in Warrington church, and that the funeral should take place by day and not by night. The following account of the funeral is from the *Harleian Collection*, No. 2129, fo. 59.

"The order of the funeral of Thomas Ireland of Bewsey esquire, from Bewsey to Warrington church. No poor at all.

First :

John Gardner

Thomas Barton

Thomas Barnes

William Barrow

George Woods (alone)

Penon of arms by Piers Gerard

Helme and crest by Mr. Thomas Ireland

Coat of arms by Mr. John Ireland of Halewood

Mr. Beatley, physician ; Mr. Atherton, Mr. Basnett,

Mr. Coe

Mr. Ward, the rector\*

The corpse borne by gentlemen

Mrs. Margaret Ireland, head mourner

Mrs. Atherton                      Mrs. Jeffreys

Mrs. Stanley                      Mrs. Banckes

Mrs. Alice Stanley              Mrs. Mary Ogle

Margaret Barlow

Mr. John Atherton              Mr. Geo. Jeffreys

Mr. Bancks                      Mr. Tho. Stanley

Mr. James Bancks              Mr. Geo. Atherton

Mr. Richard Allen and his son

Knights, gentlemen, &c."

In the year 1639 Spencer earl of Northampton, "master of the king's leash," authorized lord Gerard and others to take up for one year, for his majesty's use, "all greyhounds, beagles or whippets" in Lancashire. This seems to have been a sort of limited renewal of the commission issued in 1617. Like other articles procured by purveyance the dogs were probably to be paid for, but the idea then was that the king was to have the best of every thing.

Before Mr. Ireland died there were signs of coming troubles, and lord Strange paid Mr. Robert Massey of Warrington about 1,000*l.* for powder and match, part of which he shipped from Sankey bridge to Liverpool, and the rest he probably stored at Warrington. (*Farington Papers*, p. 69, Chetham soc.)

\* By Mr. Ireland's will, the rector was to preach his funeral sermon.

## CHAPTER VII.

WILLIAM BOOTH who, as we have lately seen, purchased the barony of Warrington from the second Thomas Ireland, came of an illustrious race. Sir Robert Booth who fell at Blore and sir John Booth who fell at Flodden were both in the line of his ancestry. William himself was the son of sir George Booth of Dunham Massey, the first baronet of the family, and the father of the still more celebrated sir George Booth who, after the restoration, was created baron Delamere. He was therefore of an illustrious family both in the ascending and descending line. He was born about the year 1595, and married the second daughter of sir Thomas Egerton, eldest son of lord chancellor Ellesmere. Several reasons led him to desire to become the owner of Warrington. On the maternal side by the marriage of his ancestor sir George Booth with Elizabeth, a daughter of the first sir Thomas Boteler, in the time of Henry VIII., he was lineally descended from its ancient lords the Botelers; and in the year 1575 sir William Booth, his grandfather, by a bargain with Edward Boteler had actually acquired a limitation of the property to himself in fee in the event of Edward Boteler's dying without issue, but he afterwards, on the intercession of Edward's father, gave up this benefit. The particulars of the treaty by which William Booth now accomplished his cherished desire and became the owner of Warrington have been already given. Since 1586, when the last Boteler died, whose family had held Warrington for centuries, the barony in little more than a century had had four successive owners.

But there is nothing about the treaty or what followed it that

is more remarkable than the resort of the purchaser to the old practice of the feudal benevolence by which the lord on many family occasions appealed to his tenants to give him their pecuniary assistance, a practice which was very frequent in the earlier ages of our constitution. The family pedigree of the Booths informs us that sir John, his ancestor, who fell at Flodden, was a contributor to "the reasonable aid" which the king required before that battle, but probably no later instance is on record of a feudal lord making a similar appeal to his tenants than that mentioned in the following instructions:—

"Instructions of William Booth esquire, which we give from the original in William Booth's handwriting, to John Carington and William Rowcrofte, his father's stewards:

"I would wish you to call the tenants first altogether and to signifie unto them that my father & I have gone thorow with Mr. Ireland, for Warrington, and the summe wee are to give is above 7,000*l*. That this was done makeing no doubt but that towards it every one of them being tenants would by their assistaunce enable us to finish it. That it is such an opportunity for them to shew their loves unto us and to gaine our respects unto them as the like is never in probability to bee again. That the whole countrey observes to see by this what respectfull tenants they are to their maister who ever hath bene more favorable to them than most other landlodes have bene to others. That the desire nowe maid unto them is for iij yeres rent which if they will give, my father & I wold have you to assure them from us both that dureinge our two lives noe more rentes nor guiftes shall be required. On the other side iff they faile us in this they may provoke us to sharpe courses especially mee, who have hadd a purpose to take the third parte of every liveinge as it falls letting the tenant enjoye two partes onelie without fine, which course I will not followe but deale as my father hathe if at this tyme they aide mee. Other landlodes in Chesshyre and Lancasshyre have lately demanded iij yeres rente onlie of their tenants for expending money and itt was

readily and without delaye graunted iff not for love yet for fere; these yeres rents are desired not for expending but purchasing suche a thinge as the lyke is not in these cuntreys and are desyred to bee done by them from love not feare; besydes if others for expending could have iij yeres rente given them & they for a purchase of that good and reputacion of the house to which they belonge should denye or faile every man would wonder at them & saye either theire maister hath bene a very ill landlorde & his tenantes love hym not or ells they will saye they are very unrespectfull tenantes. Lastly iff wee shod faile in this itt lying so neare untoe us now that the countrey hath taken notice wee are concluded for itt and that because the tenantes at an extremitye forsake us they will cause much disgrace to us for everye one will saye, my father and I had boughte Warrington, but were not able & our tenantes refused to assiste us to this purpose. I would wish you to speake unto them all together to the ende their affections may be wroughte uppon iff itt may bee: After, I thinke itt fitt those who have bene with my father & have promised bee called publickly before all the reste to know what they will doe, & after they have granted us in the face of all the reste for example, then all to be sente furthe and dealt with by Poole in particular, for feare a refractorie spirit by public deniall should bee like the Bell weather to drawe all the flocke his waye;\* such as peevishly denye deale with them in theire kindes, & comand them at a certaine daye to attend my father & give theire answer to my father themselves; This I would not have done till you have finish'd all others, because roughness being used to anie before you have all their answeres may incense some crabbed spirits who by a fellow feelinge will be offended at the check of another tho' it nothing concerned them. It is likelie manie will be absent, what course to take

\* Ridley the martyr bidding his cousin farewell before his martyrdom says, "Good cousin, as God hath set you in that our stock and kindred not for any respect to your person but of His abundant grace and goodness to be as it were the Bell wether to order and conduct the rest."

with them I leave untoe yee two. What course to take concerninge Soundeforth for my uncle John's & his owne liveinge as alsoe the commons in Yorkshyre I will bee upp earlie in the morninge to confer with you as alsoe about some." (*Cætera desunt.*)

The contract was now signed, but there were still more letters and protocols necessary before the purchase could be completed. On the 18th December 1628, as we have seen, the contract was signed, and nearly three years after there is the following letter from William Rowcrofte to his young master :

"Honorble S<sup>r</sup>.

I thinke it were verie conveniente that y<sup>r</sup> worshipp write y<sup>r</sup> l<sup>r</sup> to y<sup>r</sup> father, under y<sup>r</sup> owne hande, conscerninge the mat<sup>r</sup> betwene y<sup>r</sup> selfe and Mr. Irelande, because in deede this tyme will bee convenient to effecte the same, consideringe that both y<sup>r</sup> counsell will be there. I have hereunder expressed some p<sup>t</sup>iculers which I thinke necessarie to bee p<sup>e</sup>cted, and for anie other y<sup>r</sup> worshipp hath these and other under y<sup>r</sup> letter at y<sup>r</sup> pleasure, but in anie case remember to sende y<sup>r</sup> articles and all the pap. draughts w<sup>th</sup> things they will first demande and soe w<sup>th</sup> remembrance of my bounden dutie.

I remain,

Your worships serv<sup>t</sup> at command,

Carington, Aprill 16, 1631.

WILLIAM ROWCROFTE."

"1. Yo<sup>r</sup> artickles to bee new pen'd and ingrossed 1634, and Mr. Ireland bound to perform them.

"2. To have the originall charter, for you have but an exemption of it, or an *inspeximus*.

"3. That hee haveinge sould the charter of Warrington, and all privileges suffers or appoints his man to take toule corne at Littell Sankey, and abundance of corne bought and sould there, hathe made a seale to seale lether with there, and to gauge heareinges there, whereas you never conceived otherwise, but onlie passengers should paie him for landinge there boates.

"4. That his man Barrowe didd take upp two waiffe horses in

Littell Sankey and kepte them at Bewsie for his master, and said hee would justifie itt.

"5. It is informed that the said Barrowe bought some comodities for his owne use in Warrington, and refused to paie toule alledginge that the same were for his Mr.

"6. To be secured according to p'mise and covenante from leases of rever'ion made to tenantes for xxj yeares after lives, and not mentioned in the conveyance.

"7. That some course may be determined about the iiij<sup>li</sup> cheefe to S<sup>r</sup> Peter Leighe, w<sup>ch</sup> was informed to bee at the clearing of all toule, stallage and other incumbrances in Warrington, and proved to bee payable out of Great Sankey.

"8. About iij<sup>li</sup> for chantry lands, and that proves iij<sup>li</sup>.

"9. That the buildings and one hadd butt of ground purchased with tythes at the first agreement, may be cleared from the incumbrance of the p'son.

"10. That whereas Mr. Ireland did agree that the p'son hadd nothinge at all to doe w<sup>th</sup> the tenantes of Warrington but onlie for tythe hey, the Ester roule, & xx<sup>li</sup> p annum from Mr. Ireland, now the p'son sends his man and pulls up the fruites in tenantes gardens in kind, offers to tak tythe paise and did busk tyth beane.

"11. That Mr. Ireland by his absolute agreement did exclude himself to my Mr. from all his intreast in Warrington, but onlie the patronage of the churche and schole house, and since sends his man after the death of tenantes to demande and take mortuaries."

In another part of the survey there is a calculation in William Booth's handwriting of the manner in which the different instalments of the purchase-money were to be raised. The money was to be paid by instalments, and towards each of the first two instalments he sets 500*l.* to be paid by the tenants alluded to in his letter above mentioned; and of the third instalment the sum of 1,500*l.* is set down to be raised by compositions not yet made and by other means contained in a particular in the hands



of John Carrington and William Rowcrofte. In a subsequent page the names of the tenants and the sums which they contributed are given, which latter vary from 30s. up to 30*l.*; and some one, probably Carrington or Rowcrofte, has added this note: "Manie more fynes of tenants were received and paid for this purchase of Warrington, both in the lyfetyme of William Booth esquier, and also after his decease, for the repaiement of the ladye Egerton her money and use for itt, as appeareth in other bookes made in my yonge Mr. his minoritie."

All difficulties were at length cleared away, the conveyance was made, and the Booths—a family as illustrious as any of their predecessors—entered upon the possession of Warrington.

William Booth, who had shown so much anxiety to possess Warrington, and had conducted the negotiation for it with such an excess of caution, was determined to manage well his newly acquired property, and not to neglect any of his rights.

At a time when there were no rural police, very few magistrates, and an abundance of small acts of violence requiring redress, the court leet and court baron at Warrington, where on the old Saxon principle justice was administered to a man at his own door, were necessary. The court leet, which was really the king's court and derived its name from *leod* the Saxon word for people, had power to deal with misdemeanors and crimes; while the court baron, which was the court of the lord of the manor, had to deal with trespasses, to settle questions between the tenants, and to try actions of debt where the amount did not exceed 40s. The power of the two courts was very salutary, and its justice was expeditious and inexpensive. The steward and the bailiff were its only officers, and there were no *establishment* charges.

The new purchaser of Warrington was exact in holding these courts, and we have a record of one of them which he held in 1635, from which we shall give a few particulars in a translation from the Latin. It was held before the steward on the 10th October, and the jury sworn (thirteen in number) were—Richard

Derenan, Lawrence Massey, William Woolley, William Butler, Richard Abram, John Pennington, Thurstan Peake, Thomas Unsworth, Peter Wilding, John Eccleston, Oliver Roby, Randle Platt and John Holbrooke. The presentments which they made were very numerous, and amongst them were these :

"Thomas Fletcher made an affray upon one Thomas Caldwell, servant to John Middleton, and was amerced for it iij<sup>s</sup> iv<sup>d</sup>."

Another offender, who had "made an affray and drawn blood," was amerced for it twice as much, or "vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>."

"John Halton made an affray upon Michael Bate, and having put in Henry Longton as surety for his future good behaviour, was amerced iij<sup>s</sup> iv<sup>d</sup>."

"Jacob Starkey and Thomas Glover made an affray upon Ralph Urmston and Peter Urmston, for which each of them was amerced xx<sup>d</sup>. Starkey and Glover put in John Hussey as their pledge, and the Urmstons put in Thomas Moss as theirs."

The above, which are only a small number of the presentments of this kind, show our ancestors to have been a quarrelsome race and much given to blows.

"Ralph Dunbabin, for speaking disrespectfully of the great inquest (the jury — a sort of contempt of court), was amerced ij<sup>s</sup>."

"Randle Davenport," who was probably an innkeeper, "had suffered unlawful games to be played in his house, for which he was amerced iij<sup>s</sup>; and each of the players, Francis Marbury, J. Acton and Thomas Yeude, was amerced iij<sup>s</sup> iv<sup>d</sup>."

The record does not tell us what the unlawful games were, and our curiosity on this point must remain unsatisfied. The games then unlawful by act of parliament were tables, dice and cards.

"Hugh Brochbent, John Golborne and Richard Mercer, gentlemen, had received men into their houses to drink at untimely hours of the night, and were each amerced xx<sup>s</sup>."

One would have supposed this was a publican's offence, but the offenders are called gentlemen, and judging from the amount of the fine the offence must have been considered to be heinous.

"The wife of Peter Martin, having sold butter by false weights,

was amerced iij<sup>s</sup> iv<sup>d</sup>, and she put in J. Webster as a pledge for her future good behaviour.

"Margaret Morris, having forestalled fruit on its way to the market, was amerced xij<sup>d</sup>.

"Henry Longton, having sold putrid and unwholesome meat, was amerced iij<sup>s</sup> iv<sup>d</sup>.

"The same person, having used bad language and ill-treated the meat lookers, was amerced in the further sum of iij<sup>s</sup> iv<sup>d</sup>."

This man seems to have been an incorrigible offender.

"John Foxley, for selling unwholesome ale, was amerced xx<sup>d</sup>."

The taste for good ale is of old standing in Warrington, where the character of the place for brewing it of good quality has always stood as high as it does now.

"Richard Turner, for not having a ladder, was amerced xij<sup>d</sup>."

It must be remembered that at this time, when the streets of Warrington were narrow and crowded and the houses principally framed of wood, fires were a frequent occurrence, and fire engines being then unknown, a fire, when it broke out, was apt to spread very rapidly. Every householder was therefore compelled to keep a ladder of sixteen or more staves, to be used in cases of emergency whenever there was danger from fire.

"The bailiffs (*bailis*) of Burtonwood seem to have paid sixpence per consuetudinem.

"Thomas Sefton, gentleman, not having cleansed his place (plateam) and having made default three times, was amerced iij<sup>d</sup>.

"John Goolden, having laid his filth in the street, was amerced for it.

"Edmund Parr, for laying filth before his workshop, was amerced in like manner.

"Nicholas Goolden, for having his pavement broken and not repairing it, was amerced.

"W. Fairclough, having placed his hemp or flax (*cannabem sive pensum suum*) in the water on Warrington heath, was amerced for it."

Whoever has smelt the foul smell of flax or hemp while being

steeped or *dyed* in water will understand the nature of the offence for which Fairclough was fined. The water which runs into the Lys from the flax mills in Ghent is stained to blackness, and corrupts both the river and the air by its foul smell.

"Thomas Sefton, for not having his swine ringed, was amerced."

The inhabitants must have been in the habit of allowing their swine the same liberty to range the streets as they had in Paris until the year 1131, when an ordinance was issued forbidding all owners of swine to allow them such liberty, with a special exception in favour of the monks of St. Anthony, whose swine were allowed to go at large so long as each pig had a bell round its neck; which was a kind of *ringing* very different from that to which Thomas Sefton's were to be subjected.

"Thomas Wyke, who had permitted his swine to go loose, was amerced."

How this offence differed from the former does not appear; but it was probably not the same. Perhaps the swine had been turned loose into the common fields while the crops were growing.

"Anna Barnes, widow, for not having made up her fence and for having so offended four times, was amerced.

"The jury upon their oaths presented R. Millett the pinner of Arpley, for suffering Alice Cartwright to have her cow loose six times in Arpley, and amerced him xij<sup>d</sup>."

This was intended to prevent damage and trespass to the crops of the other tenants. All beasts turned into the common field when the crops were growing, were to be tethered.

"William Fairclough and R. Davenport, for not having scoured their common ditch belonging to their house, late Hardman's, were amerced.

"The jury also presented P. Wright the pinner of Howley, and amerced him for not having presented R. Brooke, who had driven his horses three times into the common field.

"The said R. Brooke, for having in the night time turned two horses loose into Thurstan Peake's grass, was amerced."

This practice of turning horses to feed in another man's field during the night was not obsolete a few years ago. A Warrington landowner seeing one of his neighbours, who had no land, leading his horse out at nightfall, said to him : "James, are you going to turn it into my field?" "No," was the nonchalant reply, "I am looking for a better pasture."

"The jurors reported that R. Booth and John Sankey, burleymen of the west part of the heath, had appeared and informed them that they had no presentment to make.

"The burleymen of Church street the same.

"The swine-ringers of Church street the same.

"The burleymen of Orford the same.

"The swine-ringers of Sankey the same.

"The jury presented T. P. for rescuing R. G. out of the custody of the bailiff of the court, and amerced him vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

"W. C. and N. M. being required to make a return of scabbed horses reported that they had nothing to present.

"Henry Hill, for having broken into Hugh Hankinson's apple orchard, was amerced xij<sup>d</sup>.

"T. W., for having kept a mastiff (molossum) to the terror of his neighbours and to the damage of R. P's wife and others of his family, was amerced.

"Thomas Goolden, woollen webster, had taken into his house W. Ma and his wife and their two children, and amerced x<sup>s</sup>."

The persons so received were strangers and not resiants, which was contrary to a bye-law of the town.

"John Barnes, linen webster, and another John of the same name, woollen webster, being resiants and not having appeared at the court, were amerced vj<sup>d</sup> each.

"Thomas Bispham and William Brocke were sworn to affeer, that is to moderate the amerciements."

The jury at this court must have found their office no sinecure.

At another court officers were appointed and sworn to see the measures used in the linen market duly kept, and other officers were appointed and sworn to see and adjust the accounts there.

But William Booth, after all his pains and care to acquire Warrington, was not destined to enjoy it long. On the 26th April 1636, while still a young man, he died, and on the 3rd May following he was interred at Bowdon, in the same grave where his wife had been laid on the 4th May 1629. His inquisition post mortem, taken at Chester on the 1st September 12 Charles I. (1636), found that he had died possessed of the manor of Dunham Massey, with divers messuages and tenements in Bollington, and the manors of Hattersley and Botham hill, Carrington, Thornton-le-Moors, Norcliff, divers messuages, lands and tenements in Wilmslow and Bollin, the manor of Staley, the manor of Ashton-under-Lyme, Warrington, Orford otherwise Overford, Arpley and Howley. His father, sir George Booth, survived him many years.

The issue of William Booth and his wife Vere were :

- (1.) Thomas, who died at the age of 12.
- (2.) George, who was his heir.
- (3.) William, who died young.
- (4.) Nathaniel, who married and left issue.
- (5.) Charles, who died young.
- (6.) Elizabeth, who died young.
- (7.) Catherine, who married and had issue.

CHAPTER VIII.

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GEORGE BOOTH, who succeeded his father, was found to be thirteen years eight months and fifteen days old at his father's death, and being a minor his wardship and marriage devolved upon the crown, who sold both to his grandfather of the same name for the large sum of 4,000*l.*, which added greatly to the debt already owing to lady Egerton and others for the money borrowed by his father to complete the purchase of Warrington. The young heir was still a minor when the first mutterings of the differences between the king and the parliament were heard ; but young people were then thought to be eligible to sit in parliament at an earlier age than now, and the learned historian of Cheshire is of opinion that upon a vacancy in the representation of Cheshire occurring in the Long parliament, which had first met on the 2nd November 1640, George Booth was elected to the vacant place as one of the members for that county. He thinks also that he was joined with sir William Brereton as a leader of the Cheshire forces in 1643 ; but it is probable that in the latter instance the learned historian has mistaken George Booth for his grandfather, sir George, who was then undoubtedly a very active partisan of the presbyterian party and of the parliament.

As he was not of the king's party the young lord of Warrington was not one of the large array under lord Strange who marched thence to the siege of Manchester on the 24th September 1642. If the young heir could have prevented it, lord Strange who had now become earl of Derby would not, as he did, have made Warrington his place of rendezvous and the centre of his operations this year.

On the 1st January 1643 sir George, in the absence of sir William Brereton, defended Nantwich, and it was he who answered sir John Byron's summons to surrender the town on the 16th of that month. The siege of Warrington commenced on the 21st May 1643, and when the place surrendered on the following Sunday 28th May, being Trinity Sunday, Burghall tells us that sir George (whom by mistake for his grandson he calls lord of Warrington), "entered the town and was joyfully entertained by the inhabitants." Sir George was at this time a veteran of the age of 77 years.

Warrington had been threatened by the enemy at the beginning of the month, and colonel Edward Norris the governor then, as he was afterwards, had made provision for its defence. The military works which defended Warrington and most of our Lancashire towns consisted of mud walls hastily thrown up for the occasion. After its surrender colonel John Booth was made its governor, and the distraction of the times having occasioned great distress parliament ordered collections to be made, of which the rector of Warrington who was one of those appointed to ordain ministers was made one of the distributors. But there were other payments to be made besides those to the poor, for war is a great waster, and on the 22nd November 1644 these payments were made to other men of Warrington: To Robert Massey, who was first a tobacco-pipe maker (which shows how early that trade was seated in the place), and afterwards a mercer and owner of a piratical vessel called "The May of Liverpool," which was at last seized in the Isle of Man, 340*l.* for ammunition supplied for the public service; to Mr. Arthur Borron gentleman 600*l.* for his losses by fire and imprisonment; and to Mr. Richard Abraham for his losses by the enemy's fire 242*l.* (*Foundations of Manchester*, vol. iii. p. 289.) Massey, who must have been an enterprising man, at a later period complained to parliament that he had been for twenty-five weeks kept prisoner at Lathom and had lost by it 1,161*l.* (*Stanley Papers*.)

Sir George Booth's connection with Nantwich seems to have



continued long, for more than two years after the siege of Warrington he wrote this letter (the original of which is in the Warrington museum), to his friend Edward Hyde of Norbury :

“Honest Ned,

I have but a little time allowed me. In shorte I am to tell you that if you be one that wo'd save your countrey, if you be one that respect the safety and credit of your friends, if you regard the conservation of what may be deare to you, you must not faile to-morrow to meet all your friends at Namptwich. To give some reasons for this my urgencie, all our trained bands are in discontent, the rest threaten, new commands come from above. I beseech you therefore both pardon my importunacie and if you respect me (as I know you doe), let no businesse of your owne, whatever it can be, hinder you from comming precisely to-morrow. If you doe faile, I protest I shall not thinke you esteeme or value him that is

Your faithful friend and kinsman,

G. BOOTHE.

Dunham, July 2<sup>d</sup>,  
at night, 1645. I expect  
your resolution by this  
bearour whom I have  
sent untoe you all night  
on purpose.

I pray you send to Coll.  
Duckinfield & urge him  
also, however yourself  
desert not your countrey  
and friends.

I pray you let not this scribble be seenne by any one.”

On the 9th December 1646 sir George, then described as colonel George Booth, took the solemn league and covenant. (*Hist. Lanc.*, vol. ii. p. 42.) No idle supporter of the cause he had espoused, he influenced the members of his family to adopt his views on public questions ; and when Manchester was besieged on the 25th September 1642 he sent his youngest son, John Booth, to aid in its defence, who there obtained an important command, the charge of defending Long Millgate. Of this John, who was afterwards a benefactor of Warrington, a few more particulars deserve to be given. On the 29th January 1643, when an engagement took place between sir Thomas Fairfax and a

party of royalists near Nantwich, John Booth was honoured with a command and he obtained honourable mention in the general's despatch. On the 9th February following he marched with the troops to the attack of Preston, where he was the first to scale the walls, crying out to his men as he mounted the breach, "Follow me, or give me up for ever!" He now obtained the rank of captain and soon afterwards that of colonel, and on the 14th September following, when an attack was expected to be made on Warrington, a summons signed by him and Peter Egerton was sent out demanding teams and workmen to aid in the defence of the town. In the *Papers* of the Moores of Thelwall there occurs from the 8th June to the 7th December 1644 frequent mention of him as governor of Warrington, and on the 20th August 1644, when general Meldrum encountered and routed a party of royalists near Ormskirk, his regiment took part in the fight and was mainly instrumental in putting the enemy to flight. On the 15th March 1645 an order was made to pay him 1,000*l.* for the pay of the garrison at Warrington, and his receipt for the money is in the Warrington museum. On the 23rd April 1645 his division, consisting of four hundred foot and a troop of horse, was ordered to take part in the siege of Lathom house; and on the 20th November following he authorized his servant to receive the 1,000*l.* ordered to be paid him for the pay of the garrison of Warrington. After the surrender of Lathom house on the 4th December 1645,\* in pursuance of orders, he marched with his force to Dodleston to complete the leaguer of Chester. On the 28th January 1646 he was appointed by sir William Brereton one of the commissioners to settle the

\* In the Parish church register is this entry: "June 1645, B. John Yaats the 5th day, and his grave-stone which is the oldest in the churchyard is as follows: 'Lieftenant John Yeats, late of Macclesfield.'" Unless, which is probable, this person is the same who occurs in the parliamentary army list as lieutenant in lord Brook's regiment and called John Gates, he is not mentioned in the lists either of the royal or the parliamentary army. Was he wounded at Lathom or Knowsley, or did he die a natural death? And was he a relation of Robert Yates then rector of Warrington?

terms of the capitulation for the surrender of Chester. In 1647 he did a good deed in bad times and gave Warrington the town bell, which has ever since rung and still continues to ring the nightly curfew. Round the bell is this inscription :

“Ex dono Johannis Booth armigeri  
Collonelli et rectoris emporii  
De Warrington, Anno Domini 1647.”

“The gift of John Booth esquire,  
Colonel and governor of the town  
Of Warrington, in the year of our Lord 1647.”\*

Up to this time he must have continued in favour with his own party, or his opponents would not have attacked him in the pasquinade which began

“Mainwaring ne’er shrunk  
Nor Jack Booth ——”

Afterwards however he fell under some suspicion among his party, for on the 29th May 1648, being charged with keeping company with delinquents and cavaliers, he was seized by a party of Cromwell’s horse, which very abruptly ended his government of Warrington. His nephew made him governor of Chester in 1659, and after the restoration he was knighted and became the first sir John Booth of Woodford.

In 1671 he wrote the following indignant letter to the mayor of Chester :

\* 1647, February 4th. Buried, Robert Booth, stationer. (Warrington register.)

1648. Pin-making, which not long ago was a flourishing trade at Warrington, was introduced there from Gloucester about this time. At that place, where it long flourished, the trade appears to have had its first habitat, as these lines seem to show :

“The Ladies, Heaven bless them all,  
As sure as I’ve a nose on,  
In former times had nought at all  
But skewers to put their clothes on.  
No damsel then was worth a pin,  
Whatever it might cost her,  
Till gentle Jemmy Filsby came  
And found out pins at Glo’ster.”

"S<sup>r</sup> — I once writ to alderman Steele in kindness as a freind to perswade him to a peaceable conclusion w<sup>th</sup> the late sub-farmers of the excise of yo<sup>r</sup> cittie, and in my letter I diswaded him and soe I did the sub-farmer from a journey hither. My letter I am satisfied was shewed to you and yo<sup>r</sup> brethren, and as I have heard was intended to be shewed to the king and counsell to my p<sup>r</sup>judice. What the reason was it was not produced there I cannot tell, but I now p<sup>r</sup>sume to write to you to informe you that it was no freindly returne to intend a discourtesie for a kindness. But I knew mysele out of the reach of mallice as to that businesse I then writ about, and was not so unwise as to have assumed that libertie to have writ what then I did, had I not had leave soe to have done; but I have lately heard that upon alderman Steele's coming upp I became a petitioner to him not to shew my letter, and that I should promise and, as it is said, have paid him his charges for his journey hither, upon condi<sup>ti</sup>on I should not be questioned for what I had done: and yett, as report goes, hee sayes he did shew my letter to the king, and that I had a check for it. If all this be true, the letter was so privately shewed that I could never come to the knowledge of it to this howre; and if I had a check from his ma<sup>tie</sup> it was with that silence that I never yet heard it nor discerned it in his lookes, and I hope the alderman hath been more prudent than to boast such things or broach such falsities. I now bouldly say to you I have had thanks from some of the counsell for my mannagement of this business, and had it gone on fouler things had been ript into then have yet been spoken. I am not willing to mention all particulars of such reports as I have heard have lately been made in your penthowse, but doe desire you will advise such as speake greater things then they doe that they will be wary what they say, and that they seeke not by magnifying themselves by forgeries or untruths to lessen others who seeke not to come in balance with them. S<sup>r</sup>, a short tyme will shew what your concernes are, and w<sup>th</sup> way to steere. And the worst I wish is you may wisely ma<sup>n</sup>age yo<sup>r</sup> affaires.

Y<sup>r</sup>e verie respectie frend,

London Mar 23<sup>o</sup> 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

J. BOOTH.

For the right wor<sup>th</sup> William Wilson, maior of the  
cittie of Chester. These."

*(From the original in the possession of F. Potts esquire.)*

He died in 1678 and was buried in Chester cathedral. On his tomb was this line :

“Stant rata nonnullâ fila tenenda manu.”

(*Hist. Chesh.*, vols. i. p. 249, ii. p. 100, iii. pp. 440, 445.)

Sir George Booth having been twice sheriff of Cheshire and as many times sheriff of Lancashire, and having survived his father for the long period of seventy-three years, and though he had lived in great hospitality, having considerably augmented his estate, was gathered to his rest at the patriarchal age of 86 on the 24th October 1652, and was buried at Bowdon on the 18th of the following month.

Sir George Booth had seen many remarkable local events, of some of which his grandson's manor of Warrington had been the theatre. In August 1648 Cromwell, pursuing the Scots under the duke of Hamilton, compelled the main body to lay down their arms there ; and on the 20th March he wrote from thence his despatch announcing his success. (See a fac-simile of his letter in the Museum ; Turner's *Memoirs*, quoted in Carlyle's *Cromwell* ; *Parliamentary Hist. England*, pp. xvii, 420.)

He had probably taken both the solemn league and covenant of the presbyterians, and also the engagement imposed by their opponents the independents. After struggling, like Jacob and Esau in the womb, the latter party having now gained the ascendant in 1649 required all parties to take an engagement “to be true and faithful to the commonwealth as then established, without a king or house of lords,” which included both royalists and presbyterians. A poet of the time thus remarks upon the ease with which such vows were then made and broken :

“ Did not the worthies of our house  
Before they broke the peace break vows ?  
For, having freed us first from both  
Th' allegiance and supremacy oath,  
Did they not next compel the nation  
To take and break the protestation —

To swear and after to recant  
The solemn league and covenant?  
To take the engagement and disclaim it,  
Enforced by those who first did frame it;  
Did they not swear at first to fight  
For the king's safety and his right  
And after march to find him out,  
And charged him home with horse and foot."

*Hudibras.*

Mr. Yates the rector of Warrington, however, having some regard to his conscience, not only refused to take the engagement but preached against it, for which he was tried at Lancaster, and would have been condemned but for the clemency of one of the two judges, baron Thorp and justice Puleston, who tried him and procured his pardon. (Calamy's *Account of Nonconformists*, vol. ii. p. 409.)

In 1561 king Charles II. passed through Warrington, and after fighting and beating Harrison marched over the bridge on the 16th August in that year, and advanced towards Worcester. (*Parl. Hist. Eng.*, vol. xx. p. 15.) The Parish register records the burial of Walter Hope, the duke of Buckingham's servant, who had probably received his death wound in the battle.

Sir George was succeeded by his grandson, another sir George Booth, lord of the manor of Warrington, the second baronet.

On the 19th December 1648 George Booth, member for Cheshire, wrote a letter stating that on the 7th December he had been refused admission into the house by some of the parliamentary troops.

In 1648 he was engaged in arming the country against the approach of sir Marmaduke Langdale.

In September 1654, sitting as member of parliament for Cheshire, he was made one of the committee to eject scandalous ministers.

In 1655, possibly to beguile the time, he employed himself in beautifying and improving his mansion house at Dunham. He

built a north side corresponding with the opposite part, and encompassed a large outer court with a brick wall and a fair gate of stone. He also made a domestic chapel there by laying two rooms together on the south side of the house.

In 1656 he was in friendly correspondence with Henry Bradshaw the president's brother.

In the act passed for rating the county of Chester in 1656 he is named as one of the commissioners for making and assessing the rate. (*Scobell's Acts*.) In 1658 and 1659 he was member for Lancashire.

In 1659 the royalists were beginning to take heart again :

"They rallied in parades of woods  
And unfrequented solitudes,  
Convened at midnight in out-houses  
T' appoint new rising rendezvouses."

Sir George Booth was one of those whose opinions were known to have undergone a change, and on the 22nd July 1659 king Charles II. sent him a commission under his signet and sign manual constituting him commander-in-chief of the forces to be raised for his majesty in Cheshire, Lancashire and North Wales. The commission was probably brought over by Roger Whitley of Peel, the royalist emissary ; but sir George must have anticipated its arrival, for on the 13th July he was in the neighbourhood of Warrington endeavouring to rouse the royalists to action, and acting altogether as if he was already in full possession of the king's authority. On the night between that day and the day following he went to Manchester, whence, after holding a conference there with the presbyterians and cavaliers, he returned to Warrington, where the old feelings of loyalty were smouldering but not extinct, and he then fixed on the 1st August as the day for a general rising. (*Newcome's Diary*, pref. p. xxv, Chetham soc.) The presbyterians and cavaliers were at this time politically united against the independents, and his grandfather's over zeal had probably induced sir George to conceive some disgust

against the violence of both the political parties. He entered into correspondence with Mr. Gilbert Ireland, colonel Holland, Mr. Henry Brooke of Norton, and his endeavours were seconded by the earl of Derby, lord Kilmorey, major-general Egerton and sir Thomas Middleton ; while such of the gentry of Cheshire and Lancashire as desired it were allowed to assist in the deliberations for restoring the monarchy. Mr. Robert Yates the rector of Warrington, who had been originally on the other side, was one of those who joined in these deliberations. (Oldmixon's *Hist. Eng.*, vol. ii. p. 438.)

On the 2nd August 1659 a tract was printed at Chester and extensively circulated, in which sir George set forth his reasons for rising to restore the monarchy ; and on the 6th of the same month, says Mr. Newcome (*Autobiography*, vol. i. p. 110, Chetham soc.): "On this Saturday night we had an alarm which was terrible. The next day as we were at sacrament the earl of Derby came [to Manchester] with a troop of horse, and they shot off their pistols, which did somewhat disturb us and sufficiently affect us, with the voice of the trumpet and the noise of war. At night after sermon we were with sir George Booth, who with much sorrow told us how falsely he was deserted. Five hundred lords and gentlemen of the best in England were engaged, and were all either prevented or had failed in their trust, and none were up but sir Thomas Middleton. We advised to endeavour a mediation between Lambert and them. Wearied with the unsettled state of society upwards of a hundred volunteers marched through Warrington to rally round the standard of revolt, and sir George was enabled to make himself master of the city of Chester, of which he appointed his uncle colonel John Booth to be the governor, but he could not get possession of the castle."

On the 19th August 1659 sir George marched from Chester and was overtaken and routed the next day by general Lambert at Winnington. The two armies were in sight of each other at dusk. The royalists were quartered at Northwich and Lambert's troops at Weaverham, and they came into action in the morning



in the enclosures near Hartford, where the horse being unable to act the royalists retired from hedge to hedge and passed the bridge without any other loss than reputation. They next endeavoured to secure the bridge; but after three good volleys they abandoned their position, and Lambert passed over it and charged the enemy's horse which gallantly stood the attack and so enabled the foot to advance with colours flying up the hill. After they had proceeded a quarter of a mile they halted and gave battle, when they were a second time routed; the foot escaped by means of the enclosures, and the horse fled in two divisions towards Chester and Warrington. At the latter place the flying column was stopped by the garrison of the town, consisting of four companies of foot and a troop of horse; and the remainder were taken at Chester, when the city was given up. Sir George himself was taken in a disguise at Newport Pagnell and sent to the tower, from whence he was set at liberty on the 21st February 1660. (*Hist. Chesh.*, vol. i. p. 404.) While he was in the tower he received two letters from the king.

On the 26th April 1660 he was elected to the convention parliament as member for Cheshire, and was the first of the twelve members named by the house on the 7th May following to carry to the king their answer to his letter. On the 13th July following the house of commons ordered 10,000*l.* to be given to him as a mark of respect for his eminent services and great sufferings for the public. The original motion was for 20,000*l.*, but sir George himself requested that it might be only half that sum. He had also liberty from the king to propose six gentlemen for the honour of knighthood, and two others for the order of baronetcy. On the 30th of the same month he was constituted *custos rotulorum* of the county of Chester, which office he held until the 30th May 1673 when he resigned it and it was conferred upon his son.

On the 20th April 1661, in consideration of his great services towards his majesty's restoration, he was created baron Delamer of Dunham Massey, with remainder to the heirs male of his body.

Between the years 1666 and 1672 these brass or copper tokens, copies of most of which are in the Warrington museum, were issued by the tradesmen there :

- "1. Bryen Sixsmith of Warrington, 1666. His half-peny. <sup>B<sup>S</sup>E</sup>
- "2. William Moreton of Warrington, 1666. His half-peny. <sup>W<sup>M</sup>N</sup>
- "3. Joshua Abraham in Warrington, 1666. J.A.M. His half-peny.
- "4. William Scholefield of Warrington, 1666. His half-peny.
- "5. J.P. Their half-peny, 1667, in Warrington.
- "6. Thomas Casson in Warrington, 1667. His half-peny.
- "7. Elizabeth Woolley. Her half-peny in Warrington, 1667.
- "8. Mary Erle of Rysley, 1668. Her half-peny.
- "9. Edward Borron of Warrington, 1668. His half-peny.
- "10. Jane Murry and John Pickering, their half-peny in Warrington, 1668.
- "11. Matthew Page of Warrington, his penny, 1672.
- "12. Jerimy Smethurst in Warrington. His half-peny, 1669.
- "13. John Dichfield, his half-peny in Warrington, 1669."

Lord Delamer was twice married. By his first wife, lady Catherine Clinton, he had an only daughter who died unmarried. By his second wife, lady Elizabeth Grey, eldest daughter of Henry earl of Stamford, he had seven sons and five daughters.

Either lord Delamer while he was sir George Booth, or sir George his grandfather, had a correspondence with Randle Holme, in which the latter informed him that he was descended from or connected with three hundred great families. (*Harleian MSS.*, 2,094, 18.) Under such circumstance *Magnorum non indignus avorum* would have been his appropriate motto. Clarendon says of lord Delamer that he was a person of one of the best fortunes and interest in Cheshire, and for the memory of his grandfather of absolute power with the presbyterians. (vol. iii. p. 667.)

He died at Dunham on the 8th August 1684 at the age of 63.\*

\* The following notices from Burton's *Diary* show that sir George was neither an idle nor a silent member of parliament :

"1656. Sept. 18, c.lxxx. Sir Geo. presented a letter to the house.

Ib. i. 283, 4, 5. Dec. 31, 1656. Upon a call of the house this day it was reported that Sir Geo. Booth, and Mr. Leigh the members for Cheshire were desperately sick and gone into the country.

III. 293. Feb. 15, 1658. On the petition of the anabaptists, which was principally levelled at the militia and the negative voice and that no officer be removed but by a council of war, Sir Geo. Booth said, I have been as much for the rights and liberties of the people as any man. I doubt there is not such peaceable intentions in this petition. He that w<sup>d</sup> plunge my country into blood I must fly in his face. A gentleman heard one of them say great things to this purpose. It is Colonel Grosvenor. This intimates that it comes with no such peaceable intentions as it seems to hold forth.

III. 416. Feb. 22, 1658. On the question of who sho<sup>d</sup> be peers and defining their powers.

Sir Geo. Booth said, I shall be bold to second this question, to consider of the persons before you consider of the powers; for what is more natural. Those lords that have done you service shall be no lords, and those that have done you no service shall be lords. This is somewhat hard.

500. III. Feb. 26, 1658. Sir Geo. Booth moved that none that were accountable or were farmers of any tithes should be of the committee for maintenance of ministers in Wales.

527. Feb. 28, 1658. In the debate as to the lords the att. general had said peerage will necessarily bring in legality. Admit this argument and nought has been done since 1648, that is good. All public lands, sales, &c. are gone.

Sir Geo. Booth said, I rise up to correct that mistake of Mr. Attorney general, that if you admit these lords that are capable you break in upon all that has passed since 1648. We are obliged to Mr. Att. gen<sup>l</sup> who tells us plainly that we are upon a new foundation; that he would have this house in being to be the other house. We must admit of that and none other. If this be so, I pray sir, what becomes then of Magna charta and the petition of right, which make Englishmen freemen and not slaves? Must they either be fought over again or be shamed, they hanging but upon the bare thread of this petition and advice which is disputable? I do not know how in justice you can lay that blemish upon those persons, that have so eminently served you to lay them aside. If the inconveniency be great to admit them, you may answer 'If there be danger on that side, there is as much danger on the other.' My motion is that those that have been faithful to you may be this house of lords, not exclusive of others. I know very few of the other. I have heard that some of them have taken strange things upon them, at other times, as Major-generals to meddle with difference of *meum* and *tuum*. There hath been such persons in this nation, in military employments, that have told me, the law was in their breasts. If any such be in the other house, they will be fit to revive and put in execution that doctrine again. There was a difference between two states of Italy. The Pope as a common father desired to reconcile the difference and moved them to refer theirs<sup>d</sup> to him to compose the matter. They both refused his mediation. The princes said to the pope, 'You have the

spiritual sword ; and we have only the temporal sword. If we give you both you will be too hard for us.' I doubt this may prove so. If you put the civil sword into the hands of those that have the military sword too, I think it cannot be safe for you. Let those persons that have not forfeited (some aspersions upon them I wish had been spared) let them be your foundation and take in what others you please.

IV. 6. March 4, 1658. Sir George Booth and 15 others were appointed a committee to examine and report on a breach of privilege.

Sir George said on the word parole being used, say 'word,' let us take that word, for that is English and all of us do not understand the former word which is French.

19. March 4, 1658. Sir Geo. Booth moved to adjourn the debate on the other house until to-morrow at 8 a.m.

65. Mar. 7, 1658. As to the lords. Sir Geo. Booth said, There are three questions, safety, usefulness and honour. As to safety. Consider whe' they are upon an equal and even foot with you. You are not upon even ground. I doubt you have but only your breath left. It signifies nought to me whether you bound them before, or after. It will be but a bauble to play withal. A sword cannot be bounded. As to their usefulness. They are said to be a screen. They must then be considerable in property or relations. If those persons be so, I appeal. Many have no freehold but their salaries, if you will put that among your tenures. Their relations are not useful. They are gallant in their persons, but thin in relations. *Res ipsa loquitur*. Some noble and meriting. It were but a very few. Put what vizard you will upon it, I shall know the face, what face it is. How honourable it will be ; *res ipsa loquitur*. I confess the old peers are not so useful as to interest ; but they certainly are better as to interest than these.

107. Mar. 9, 1658. Sir Geo. Booth. Leave the debate generally without a question and it is fair for all sides.

202. Mar. 19. Sir Geo. Booth was one of the tellers on the division as to admitting the Scotch mem<sup>r</sup>.

272. Mar. 25, 1659. Sir Geo. Booth. I do much approve of that gentleman's tender-heartedness. That gentleman may remember how in the long parliament, two or three thousand protestants were sent to the Barbadoes ag<sup>t</sup> their consent. I hope all that died by that plot died by law, and not by a high court of justice.

280. March 28, 1659. Sir Geo. Booth. I hope we all mean the same thing though we differ in the way. It is right that all things be secured for the good of the nation. Some think that question may be so finely painted that it may have a good face. Others are for the thing itself ; and those by their silence discover that all the additions you offer will signify nought. Some are right against the thing. I am one of these. You do say you will bound them ; but you must bring these bounds to them, and they will tell you we will not agree to these bounds ; we will bound you. These are but vain things. Make what additions you will, at the very moment of your transacting, you put your bounding out of doors. If your body politic be mishapen at the making, the widening or straightening it, will not help it. It will be still uneasy. I would have no addition, but would have the main question put, and I shall give my negative to it. I would have no body lay his hands on his eyes.

293. Mar. 28, 1659. Sir Geo. was one of tellers for the noes on a division.

327. April 1, 1659. Sir George (in reply to an observation that the parliam<sup>t</sup> had a mind to perpetuate them<sup>s</sup>), This is too sharp a censure upon us that came here to serve our counties upon a clear footing without any design of perpetuating a trouble to ourselves. That might have been spared. I was against the bill coming in at this time; but wo<sup>d</sup> have two bills brought in, to grant this for so many years.

404. April 12, 1659. Sir Geo. moved that major general Boteler who had been guilty of malversation sho<sup>d</sup> be put out of the comm<sup>a</sup> of the peace and that it be referred to his highness to put him out of the military list.

407. Ap. 12, 1659. Sir Geo. said of major general Boteler, He has been heard at your grand committee and did justify himself, and said 'he had done short of his duty, and sho<sup>d</sup> do it, if it were to do again.'

413. Ap. 12, 1659. Sir Geo. presented a petition touching the arrears of the supernumerary forces disbanded in the county of Lancaster, Chester and Westmoreland, w<sup>h</sup> was referred to a com<sup>ee</sup>."

## CHAPTER IX.

HENRY LORD DELAMER, who succeeded on the death of his father the first lord on the 8th August 1684, was born about the year 1651. On the 30th May 1673 he was appointed *custos rotulorum* of the county of Chester in the place of his father, who, having now a son of age and being desirous of some repose after his busy life, had resigned the office.

In 31 and 32 Charles II. (1679-80), having been elected a knight of the shire for the county of Chester, he entered very warmly upon the defence of the protestant establishment, and was a bold supporter of the bill for excluding the duke of York. Such conduct not being agreeable to the court he was displaced from the commission of the peace and deprived of his office of *custos rotulorum*. But the conduct of the court was not approved of by the friends of freedom, and lord William Russell on the morning of his execution sent him his thanks for the part he had taken, which so aggravated his offence in the eyes of the court that he was apprehended and sent to the tower, of which his father had had a taste before him, and where he himself was kept a close prisoner for several months. Before 1682 however he had been set at liberty, and remaining steady to his principles notwithstanding the danger that attended them, in that year, when the duke of Monmouth then the hero of the exclusionists made a progress through Cheshire in which he was everywhere preceded by four or five young gentlemen as harbingers, one of them was Mr. Henry Booth, and at Nantwich where his grandfather had fought the fight of freedom in times still more stormy and after a different sort, he rode into the town before the duke as one of

his harbingers. The duke afterwards came to visit earl Rivers and his son lord Colchester at Rock Savage, and from thence, attended by lord Gerard and others, he came to lord Delamer's house at Dunham. In the report of the court spies who were set to watch the duke's movements, Mr. Henry Booth lord Delamer's son is expressly mentioned as one of the duke's favourers and adherents in this semi-regal progress. On the 19th May 1684, having succeeded to the manor of Warrington, he took his seat in the upper house as lord Delamer. Being a well-known object of jealousy, he was again committed to the tower on the accession of James II., but was afterwards released on bail. The friends who were his surety, if they were not very much his friends indeed, must have been very bold to engage for the conduct of one so well-known to be loyal to his opinions and so forward to act upon them. On two subsequent occasions he was again committed to the tower and as often set at liberty. Afterwards, being again committed on a charge of high treason for having abetted the Western insurrection, he was on the interference of the house of lords brought to trial before a select body of the house. It was a circumstance of ill omen that the notorious Jeffreys was constituted high steward and was to preside at the trial. No judge could have been found less likely to be impartial where the crown was on one side and an offending subject on the other. Moreover he had special reasons to be incensed against the prisoner, who while he represented Cheshire in the house of commons had observed the conduct of Jeffreys when he was chief justice sitting at the assizes there, and in one of his speeches in the house had thus boldly spoken of him :

"Sir George Jeffreys behaved himself more like a *Jack Pudding* than with the gravity that beseems a judge. He was mighty witty upon the prisoners at the bar; he was full of jokes upon people that came to give evidence, not suffering them to declare what they had to say in their own way and method, but would interrupt them because they behaved with more gravity than he;

and in truth the people were strangely perplexed when they were to give in their evidence. But I do not insist upon this nor upon the late hours he kept up and down our city. It is said he was every night drinking till two o'clock, or beyond that time, and that he went to his chamber drunk. But this I have only by common fame, for I was not in his company. I bless heaven that I am not a man of his principles or behaviour, but in the mornings he appeared with the symptoms of a man that over night had taken a large cup."

This was an indictment not likely to conciliate in his favour a judge who was not only not magnanimous but was revengeful. Fortunately however the thirty peers who were the triers were to be the judges of the facts, while the judge had only to determine the law. The trial took place about December 1686, and we extract from lord Macaulay this account of it :

"The judge conducted himself as was his wont, insolently and unjustly ; he had indeed to stimulate his zeal the old grudge which has been just mentioned, and was not ashamed to resort to artifices which even in an advocate would have been culpable. He reminded the lords triers that the prisoner had in parliament objected to the bill for attainting Monmouth, a fact which was not and could not be evidence. But it was not in the power of Jeffreys to overawe a synod of peers as he had been in the habit of overawing common juries. The evidence for the crown would have been thought amply sufficient on the western circuit or at the city sessions, but could not for a moment impose on such men as Rochester, Godolphin and Churchill ; nor were they with all their faults depraved enough to condemn a fellow-creature to death against the plainest rules of justice. Grey, Wade and Goodenough were produced, but could only repeat what they had heard by Monmouth and by Wildman's emissaries. The principal witness for the prosecution, a miscreant named Saxton who had been concerned in the rebellion and was now labouring to earn his pardon by swearing against all who were obnoxious to the government, was proved by over-



whelming evidence to have told a series of falsehoods. All the triers from Churchill, who as junior baron spoke first, up to the treasurer pronounced on their honour that Delamer was not guilty. The gravity and pomp of the whole proceeding made a deep impression even on the nuncio, accustomed as he was to the ceremonies of Rome, which in solemnity and splendour exceed all that the rest of the world can show. The king, who was present and was unable to complain of a decision evidently just, went into a rage with Saxton and vowed that the wretch should first be pilloried before Westminster hall for perjury, and then sent down to the west to be hanged, drawn and quartered for high treason." (Macaulay's *Hist. England*, vol. ii. p. 38 *et seq.*)

The acquittal of lord Delamer, a sign that the reign of terror was over, caused great joy, and to the accused it must have given great satisfaction as proving that his trials and dangers had not been suffered in vain.

After his trial lord Delamer retired to his house at Dunham, where he lived quietly, doing the duties of a country gentleman, until the landing of the prince of Orange, when the old spirit revived and made him feel, as he himself said, that the country if delivered from misgovernment must be freed either by force or a miracle, and that the latter was not to be expected. The king only landed on the 5th November, and on the 16th lord Delamer took up arms and raised a considerable body of men in Lancashire and Cheshire, including doubtless some of his Warrington tenants, whom he mustered on Bowdon downs, from whence he marched at their head to join the prince of Orange. The prince, who was well aware of his movements, on the 2nd December wrote him an encouraging letter, which was addressed to him at Gloucester.

On the 7th December he, with the marquis of Halifax and the earl of Shrewsbury, was sent to desire the king to withdraw from Whitehall. These noblemen, being introduced into his majesty's bedchamber by the earl of Middleton at one o'clock in the morning, delivered their message to him in bed, and with so much

consideration and respect on lord Delamer's part that the king in his subsequent retirement was wont to say that this lord, whom he had used ill, had treated him with more regard than the other two, to whom he had ever been kind and from whom he might have expected a better return.

The troops with which lord Delamer had marched to join William of Orange, being afterwards formed into a regiment of cavalry of which he was made the colonel, afterwards served with king William in Ireland.

On the accession of William III. lord Delamer was sworn a privy councillor and made lord lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the county and city of Chester.

On the 9th April 1689 he was made chancellor of the exchequer and under treasurer of the kingdom, but he held this office only for one year, and on his retiring from it on the 17th April 1690 the king, in acknowledgment of his great services and of the great forces he had brought him to rescue his country and religion from tyranny and popery, created him earl of Warrington and granted him a pension of 2,000*l.* a year the better to enable him to support his dignity.

Except sir Robert Dudley, the earl of Warrington was the only lord of the manor of Warrington who ever appeared in print as an author. In 1689 he wrote an account of lord William Russel's case with observations upon it, and his collected works, consisting chiefly of speeches in parliament, family prayers, political tracts, and the case of William earl of Devonshire, were published in 1694.

Smollett says of him that he was close and mercenary, and lord Macaulay heightens this by calling him rapacious and expecting, but he gives no proof of it except the fact that he obtained a grant of all the concealed lands of the Jesuits in five or six counties (*Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 539); but, as policy had probably more to do with this than lucre, neither historian seems to do his lordship justice.

The earl married Mary, sole daughter of sir James Langham

of Cottesbrooke in the county of Northampton baronet, who died 23rd March 1690. He survived his wife only about three years, and dying on the 2nd January 1693 at the early age of 42 was buried at Bowdon, where his monumental inscription, long enough to form a biography, is as much too eulogistic as the historians are too severe upon his character.

He was succeeded in his title and honours by his son George.

A sermon on the earl's death and his and his lady's character was preached by "Silver-tongued Wroe," the eloquent warden of Manchester.

CHAPTER X.

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GEORGE earl of Warrington, who succeeded his father the first earl, was born at Mere hall on the 2nd May 1675, at a time when his father was either actually in prison or shortly after his release from his first commitment to the tower. In 1693, when he succeeded to the manor of Warrington, he was still under age. For three generations the chiefs of his house had taken a great part in politics and had been loyal and active in supporting their opinions, and all of them except the grandfather of the first lord Delamer had had a taste of imprisonment and a threat of worse consequences. The revolution of 1688 was as yet but new, and the times were hardly settled when earl George became a man, but he seems to have shunned politics, and if he desired privacy his desire was fully accomplished. In no portion of our history do we read that he took any part in public affairs. Like his father however he devoted some of his leisure to literature, and like him he appeared in print as an author. In 1734 he wrote *A Letter to the Writer of the Present state of the Republic of Letters*, in which he vindicated his father's memory from the reflections of Burnet; and in 1739 he printed *Considerations on the Institution of Marriage*.

His lordship married Mary, the daughter of John Oldbury of Lindon merchant, who died at Dunham in April 1740, leaving him an only daughter and no male issue. Foreseeing that his title of earl of Warrington would become extinct on his death without leaving a son, he determined to sell his possessions in Warrington, and accordingly many parts of them were sold in fee simple to the tenants and others at Warrington, reserving

only some very small nominal fee farm rents; and after his death, in pursuance of his will, his trustees sold the manor and all the remainder of the property in Warrington to John Blackburne esquire, the ancestor of the present lord of the manor, and thus the manor, which had remained more than four hundred years with the Botelers, had passed since the death of Edward Boteler, the last male heir, through three families in succession in a century and a half. The Dunham plate, which is so plentiful as to be thought a wonder, must have been principally accumulated in or before earl George's time, for Miss Byrom notices on the 25th November 1745 that he had sent 25,000 ounces of it away to escape the pretender. (*Byrom's Remains*, vol. ii. p. 387, Chet-ham soc.)

George, the second earl of Warrington, died on the 2nd August 1758. In May 1736 Mary, his daughter and only child, married Henry the fourth earl of Stamford, whose son George Harry Grey, on the 22nd September 1796, obtained a renewed grant of the earldom of Warrington.

## CHAPTER XI.

JOHN BLACKBURNE esquire, the purchaser of the manor of Warrington from the devisees of the late earl of Warrington, was the son of Jonathan Blackburne esquire of Orford hall, and was born in the year 1693 at the old hall which stood on the site of the present Orford hall. In the year 1709 his father, who was an active public man in Warrington and an original trustee of the first Trinity chapel, in the years 1713 and 1714 exchanged visits with Thomas Tyldesley the diarist, whose Stuart leanings were notorious. In the year 1715, while he was high sheriff, the first Scotch rebellion broke out, which must have found him plenty of work to do. On the 31st October the rebels, having marched to Longtown in Cumberland, advanced from thence to Preston preceded by their pipers. From Preston, where they arrived on the 10th November, they were preparing to march to Warrington, when their progress was stopped by the country rising before them and by the attack of general Wills, who compelled them to surrender at Preston. The general's troops had been rendezvoused at Warrington, and they marched from thence by Wigan to Preston. After the surrender they returned the same way, and at Longford lord Derwentwater was seen riding as a prisoner to London, mounted on

“ the bonny grey steed  
That carried him aye so free ! ”

In January 1715 the judges coming to try the rebels at Liverpool were met by the sheriff, a trumpeter and some javelin men at Warrington, to which place they were again escorted after the assizes were over ; and the prisoners executed at Manchester

passed through Warrington on their way to execution. (*Hist. Lanc.*, vol. iv. p. 8.)

In 1716 he built or restored the present Orford hall. In 1719 he made a family settlement of his Orford estates, and he died on the 25th February 1725. He married first Miss Bridget Bromfield, by whom he had four daughters; and after her death he married Anna the daughter of Thomas Lever esquire of Chamber hall, the widow of Christopher Lockwood esquire of Leeds, who survived Mr. Blackburne and having died on the 20th September 1732 was buried at Leeds.

John his second son, who succeeded to the Orford property on the death of his father, married Catherine the daughter of the rev. William Assheton B.D., rector of Prestwich, and sister and coheiress of sir Assheton Lever knight.

In 1743 he served the office of high sheriff of Lancashire which, as we have seen, his father had served in 1715; and when he now filled the same office the country was on the eve of a second rebellion, and the old times of the war of the Roses seemed to have returned. The cavalcade which escorted the sheriff to Lancaster set out from Orford hall and caused an unusual bustle at that quiet place, and two years afterwards when the rebellion actually broke out Mr. Blackburne took an active part in putting it down. When it was known that the young chevalier had landed in Scotland and was preparing to advance into England, the news spread great alarm through the kingdom generally, but more especially in our northern counties through which he was expected to advance; and this alarm was not allayed when his success at Gladsmuir became public and it was known that he had there thrown away his scabbard and led on his men by these encouraging words: "Come on, gentlemen, and by God's grace I shall this day see you a free and happy people." Sounds too, which have since struck terror to many a foreign foe, then disturbed the imagination of the peaceful burghers in our northern towns:

“Then wild and high the Cameron’s gathering rose,  
The war note of Lochiel!  
How in the noon of night that pibroch thrills,  
Savage and shrill !”

At Warrington the effect of this alarm was to put numbers of the inhabitants upon stowing away their plate and valuables for security in a cellar with a concealed entrance under a house in the Market-place. The houses there, which were then chiefly of wood and plaster, were most of them covered with trailing vines, had pointed gables, projecting stories, high-pitched roofs, long ranges of mullioned windows, and fantastic patterns in their woodwork. One of these houses is still pointed out by tradition as the place where many of the concealed valuables found a temporary place of deposit. But the people were not all of one mind respecting the pretender’s cause, and Byrom wrote this epigram upon it :

“Heav’n bless the King, I mean the faith’s defender ;  
Heav’n bless — no harm, I hope, in blessing — the Pretender ;  
But who Pretender is, and who is King,  
Heav’n bless us all, it’s quite another thing.”

And this uncertainty increased the people’s alarm and made men distrust their neighbours. It is well known that a house in the Market-place, then one of the best in the town, which was destined to receive the chevalier if he should pass through Warrington was hastily fitted up with tapestry hangings and other decorations to fit it for a temporary court.

In the *Chester Courant* of November 1745 there is a letter dated the fourteenth of that month from a gentleman at Warrington, which gives us a glimpse of the proceedings of the rebel army on their first entrance into England.

The writer of the letter says: “An express arrived here this morning which says that on Saturday last (9th November) a small party of highlanders were seen about half a mile off Carlisle, upon which the castle began to cannonade them, and



continued so doing for about half an hour when the highlanders retreated. The town continued quiet until about ten on Sunday morning, when we had advice that they were marching from the village where they were quartered to within half a mile of the west side of Carlisle, upon which the cannon were levelled at them and again began to play, but the weather was so foggy that we could not see one hundred yards from the town. About one o'clock parties were seen to be in the west suburbs, at which the whole garrison, which were of the militia company and a troop of Argyle's horse with the townsmen, were lined on the city walls; and about two the enemy were plainly seen marching on the south of the town at one mile's distance, and marched southward to surround the whole town. During this our cannon played from the town and some of the rebels were killed on the south side, one of whom was a man of rank; on the north side of the town some of their horses were killed, but don't hear of any men. About three the mist was worse again, so that the town was quite enclosed; about half an hour after three a letter came from the chevalier dated in the afternoon to the mayor to surrender the town and waited two hours for his answer, on which a council was called, and to a man it was agreed to defend it to the last extremity; and being advised that a party of rebels were lodged in a village on the north side of the town the cannon kept playing upon it which was the answer given to their summons. About three on Monday morning the whole garrison discharged their small arms upon an imaginary approach of the enemy but none appeared. About nine in the morning they went away and gave it out that they would go and engage general Wade. Six highlanders were brought prisoners into Carlisle." The cannonade which the letter describes could not have been very effective, for according to sir Walter Scott only one man was killed and another wounded during the whole of the siege. (*Tales of a Grandfather*, p. 80, third series.)

Notwithstanding the mayor and council's brave vaunt the city did not hold out many days, and on the 15th November the

town and castle were surrendered. On the 17th the young chevalier entering in triumph formally took possession of the place and proclaimed his father king of Great Britain by the title of James III. In the full fervour of his loyalty the mayor, who bore the Scotch name of Patterson, had boasted in his proclamation that he was neither a Scotchman nor of Scotch descent but a true-born Englishman, which gave the highlanders occasion to make very merry when his worship was afterwards compelled to be present and hear James III. proclaimed king instead of king George.

Up to the 14th November, when the above letter was written, no precautions seem to have been taken in the neighbourhood to hinder or divert the march of the rebels, who undoubtedly at one time entertained the intention to pass by Warrington into Wales, with a view of entrenching themselves in some of its fastnesses until their partisans should have gained courage and numbers should have added strength to their party.

On the 20th November the young chevalier advanced with his forces to Penrith. On the 22nd they were at Kendal six thousand strong; on the 24th at Lancaster; on the 26th at Preston, where it is said the vicar being ordered to offer up prayers for James III. boldly instead prayed for his majesty George II., adding a prayer that the young prince who had come to seek an earthly crown might in due time deserve and be rewarded with a heavenly one.

The march of the young chevalier from Carlisle being known at Warrington some forces under colonel Graham were stationed there to oppose him, and on Saturday the 23rd November it was determined, no doubt with the concurrence of the late high sheriff Mr. Blackburne, to render Warrington bridge impassable for troops and baggage; and accordingly on that day or on the 25th (*Byrom's Remains*, vol. ii. p. 387, Chetham soc.), in pursuance of the following order from the earl of Cholmondeley, then lord lieutenant of Cheshire and a zealous servant of the house of Hanover, in whose cause at his own expense he had

raised a regiment of foot, the bridge was broken down and dismantled. The order, which was addressed to the honourable colonel William Graham a distinguished officer in the regular army, who had at this time the command of the Liverpool blues (Baines's *Hist. Liverpool*, p. 411), was as follows :

*"To col. Graham.*

Sir,—I wrote to you immediately on the return of brigadier-general Douglas, who has been over by the duke's order to view the bridge at Warrington to see if it was possible to make a *tête de pont* in order to secure and defend the same, as being a very material pass. And as the making of one is found impracticable it is the unanimous opinion of the brigadier and all the field officers, as well as my own, that no time is to be lost in breaking down the same. I therefore write this by express, with my positive orders to see the same effected, to which end you will get what assistance of workmen the town will afford and the proper utensils that it may be done out of hand. It is not my intention that the bridge shall be entirely ruined, but only the two middle arches taken entirely down, and especially the middle pier which must be taken down level with the water. This will effectually prevent the rebels being able to make any passage and yet leave the repair of it very practicable and at an easy expense at a proper season of the year. When this work is executed you will immediately comply with your orders from brigadier-general Young, who I think directs you to Chester, without you receive any orders to the contrary from sir John Ligonier or your superior officers.

I remain, with great sincerity,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

CHOLMONDELEY.

Chester, Sat<sup>r</sup> Morn<sup>g</sup>, nine o'clock."

On the 27th November a letter was received from Stockport, in which it was said : "We are in the utmost confusion here, all the bridges on the Mersey being ordered to be destroyed. That at Warrington was demolished on Sunday, and that at Barton last night ; and yesterday a party of the Liverpool blues five hundred strong marched into this town with orders to destroy

the bridge here." (*Foundations of Manchester*, vol. ii. p. 99.) The bridge at Frodsham was also ordered to be destroyed, and a party of the Liverpool blues several hundred strong seems also to have been stationed at Warrington.

On reaching Wigan on the 27th, the young chevalier having had intelligence of the destruction of the bridges at Warrington and Frodsham, changed his purpose, and directed his march towards Manchester, which he reached on the 29th.

On learning that all the bridges were to be destroyed, the prince with a touch of irony issued this counter-proclamation: "Manchester, 30 Nov. 1745. His royal Highness being informed that several bridges have been pulled down in this county, has given orders to repair them, particularly that at Crossford, which is to be done this night by his own troops, though his royal Highness does not propose to make use of it for his own army, but believes it will be of service to the country, and if any forces that were with general Wade be coming this road, they may have the benefit of it. C. P. R." (*Byrom's Remains*, vol. ii. p. 393 note, Chetham soc.)

Only a few of the rebels reached Warrington to reconnoitre, and sixteen of these were made prisoners by the Liverpool blues and sent to different gaols. The Scottish skean or waved dirk found in the river, and now in the Warrington museum, had been probably lost by one of the party. Within the period of living memory there was in Warrington an old lady, now deceased, who remembered seeing these Highland prisoners seated barefooted on the floor and eating oatmeal porridge from a large dish, while a piper played to them to keep up their spirits.

But we have evidence in the Warrington overseers' books of the strange effect the report of the enemy's approach had upon the inmates of the workhouse. From the 12th to the 20th November the inmates had earned 3*l.* 7*s.* and the expense of the house and clothing was 15*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*, but for the next fortnight there were no earnings, and the house expenses and clothing fell to 2*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* The young chevalier's rebellion had caused a rebellion in the house and emptied it of its inmates.

Mr. Blackburne, being the principal resident landowner in Warrington, had of course much to do in preserving the peace at such a time and under such circumstances, and we shall see how his assistance was required afterwards.

In 1694 his father, who was an active magistrate, must have been suspected of having some leaning towards the eight Jacobites who were then tried at Manchester, for he was challenged by the crown and not allowed to sit on the jury; but on the news of the pretender's approach in 1745 his son's loyalty to the house of Brunswick was above suspicion. He too was then acting as a magistrate, and the solitary prisoner then in the town bridewell, probably the only state prisoner it had ever contained, had been most likely committed by him for some overt act of sedition or treason.

From the workhouse accounts, to which allusion has already been made, we learn the price which was then paid for various articles of food. Butter cost  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb.; salt, on which there was then an excise duty, 3s. 10d. the bushel; beef,  $1\frac{3}{4}d.$  the lb.; potatoes, 1s. 2d. the measure; a load of meal, 16s.; a measure of wheat, 5s.; veal,  $1\frac{3}{4}d.$  the lb.; pork,  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  the lb.; bacon, 7d. the lb.; cheese,  $3\frac{1}{2}d.$  the lb.; a hen cost 7d.; a duck  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; and a load of malt, 23s. Coals were sold at  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$  the basket. The sale of coals by the basket seems to have been of a very old standing in Lancashire, for we read of it in the accounts of Whalley abbey in the year 1521, where this entry occurs: "*Carbonum marinis sportis, ix.*" (*Hist. Lanc.*, p. 100.) Paid 9s. for baskets of sea coal. If each basket contained one and a half cwt. the price was  $3\frac{1}{2}d.$  the cwt. In the workhouse there seems to have been little if any of that clean article of domestic use, earthenware, but instead of it wooden plates and trenchers seem to have been bought by the score.

On the news of the pretender's approach the inmates of the workhouse—a class ever ready "to gape and rub the elbows at the news of hurly-burley innovation"—waited for no ancient Pistol to renew his demand of them, "under which king, Be-

zonian ? speak or die !" for they quitted the house in a body, and some of them it is very likely were parties in the riot which took place in the Horse-market, in consequence of some one from the windows of the old coffee-house huzzaing for the pretender.

On the 10th December 1745, however, the rebels who had advanced to Derby were now in full retreat towards Scotland, and had already reached Wigan. The workhouse inmates having returned to the house their earnings reappear, and the house expenses assume their normal state.

But Mr. Blackburne's duties as the magistrate and leading inhabitant of the neighbourhood were not yet over. Some of the royal troops had already reached Warrington, and on the 11th December the Parish register records the burial of a child of one of them, and a few days later of a daughter of one of the dragoons. The duke of Cumberland was hourly expected in Warrington, and on Friday the 13th December he arrived and was received by Mr. Blackburne and other influential gentlemen. He immediately set out in pursuit of the rebels, and was attended as far as Wigan by Mr. Blackburne and others. One Warrington tradesman who had ventured too near the royal army was taken up on suspicion of being a spy from the rebel camp, and had nearly paid too dear for so far indulging his curiosity, for being taken before the duke he was only released after explaining his conduct and experiencing the fear of very serious consequences.

The Winwick Parish register in January 1746 records that the bells of the church there were rung as Ligonier's horse passed by. But although the retreat of the rebels and the duke's march in pursuit of them comparatively reassured the Warrington public, the account of some occasional successes gained by the rebel army at times revived the old feeling of insecurity, and this was no doubt the case when news arrived of the rebels' success in the battle of Falkirk, full particulars of which were circulated with great eagerness by the pretender's friends. The *Gazette* containing this news, according to Miss Byrom, reached

Warrington on Sunday the 19th January 1746, but no copy of it came to Manchester. As however the battle was not fought until the 17th January and the 19th did not fall on a Sunday, she probably meant Sunday the 23rd January. (*Byrom's Remains*, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 410.)

The result of this success however was but short-lived, for on the 8th February the Winwick bells once more rang out a merry peal to celebrate the news of the entire defeat and dispersion of the rebels. This again proved a little premature, for their final overthrow was not accomplished until the battle of Culloden on the 16th April 1746, after which people took heart and breathed more freely.

All this time the bridge at Warrington remained broken down, but on the eve of the last battle, when there seemed to be a dawn of returning confidence, a royal command arrived ordering the repair of the bridge. This order, which bore date the 10th April 1746, recites that a representation had been made to his majesty by the landholders and inhabitants of the counties of Chester and Lancaster that across the river Mersey running between those two counties there had been three stone bridges at Warrington, Stockport and Crossford, and a wooden bridge at Carrington, and that there was a ferry upon the same river called Hollin ferry where boats had been used; that across the river Irwell in Lancashire there had been built a stone bridge at Barton and a wooden bridge called Hulmes bridge, and that upon this river there had been constantly used a ferry called Irlam ferry; that in order to retard the rebels in their late march all those several bridges and ferries with the boats had been by the king's forces or by virtue of some military orders so thrown down, sunk, damaged or destroyed, and the course of the river so diverted and the banks so cut down and demolished, that great expenses would be necessary to repair, rebuild and put them in their former condition. That an estimate thereof having been made by experienced persons, the same amounted to the sum of 2,200*l.*, that is to say:

*On the river Mersey.*

Warrington, Crossford and Carrington bridges and Hollin ferry boats.. . .	£1,388 14 4½
To repair and secure the banks occa- sioned by pulling down Warrington bridge .....	108 17 5

*On the river Irwell.*

Barton and Hulmes bridges and Irlam ferry boat .....	416 1 0
To several persons for their journeys and expenses, fees and charges in receiving the money, keeping ac- counts and other occasions .....	286 11 2½
	<hr/>
	£2,200 4 0

And that the petitioners had humbly prayed that as the matter was of public concern directions might be given for the issue of a competent sum for the purposes aforesaid, to which request the king had been graciously pleased to accede. It was thereby ordered that Thomas Winnington esquire, paymaster-general of the guards, garrisons and land forces, should pay the sum of 2,200*l.* to lord Strange and Nicholas Fazackerley esquire, to be paid over according to such orders as they should receive from sir Ralph Ashton baronet, John Blackburne of Orford esquire, Thomas Patten of Warrington esquire, George Legh of Tatton esquire, and Peter Brooke of Mere esquire, towards the building, repairing and amending of the several bridges, banks and boats aforesaid, and defraying the charges and expenses incident thereto, in such manner as they should think proper.

Whilst the bridge remained dismantled the passage across the river at Warrington had been effected by means of a ferry, but after this order the bridge was speedily restored, and the re-opening of a free communication between the two sides of the river proved a great convenience to the neighbourhood.



Shortly after the victory of Culloden a portion of the troops returned through Warrington towards the south, and an anecdote is told of an innkeeper of this neighbourhood, at whose house some of them had been quartered on their advance and who went to their old quarters on their return, which shows the innkeeper's fears before the battle in strong contrast with his gratitude afterwards. On the advance he had been profuse in his commendations of them, called them "pillars of the nation," and said they should always be welcome at his house. But when they came there on their return, and reminded him of his promise and that he had called them pillars of the nation, the danger being over he affected not to know them, and when they repeated what he had said, he replied that if he did so he surely meant by it *caterpillars*.

The historian of the house of Stanley says the badness of the approach to Warrington by Orford and Latchford induced the earl of Derby in the time of Henry VII. to build Warrington bridge. It is likely that Warrington was then liable to be flooded both on the north and the south side of the town, as it had been at an earlier period. The river had not yet been made navigable, and the road on the south was flooded by the direct overflowing of the river, as that on the north side was by the brooks which run into it backing up in consequence of the river being overfull. This state of things remained unaltered at the time of the rebellion in 1745, and when the duke of Cumberland passed Orford in pursuit of the rebels, Mr. Blackburne, who attended him, observed the defect, and out of a desire to advance the public good and improve his estate, determined to remedy it; and with that view he caused the present causeway to be thrown up and a bridge built at Longford, which have ever since kept that approach to the town safe from floods. Let us hope that this good work accomplished since the period when England last saw one part of her sons arrayed against another, as it has cured the land-floods, may never again witness the flood of civil discord.

The strife of arms being now over Mr. Blackburne found time

for more congenial pursuits. The study of natural history which he cultivated assiduously gave him an acquaintance with botany, and made him known to Linnæus, while his skill in horticulture brought him still greater fame. He was one of the earliest cultivators of the pine apple, and his gardens, on which he spared neither trouble nor expense, became known for their extensive collections of foreign and domestic products, and were resorted to by the lovers of botany from all parts of the north of England. A catalogue of all the plants in his gardens, alphabetically arranged according to the Linnean system, was published in 1779 by his gardener, Mr. Neal (who very properly bore the Christian name of Adam), and was well received by the public. This catalogue, by its mention of the pine apple, goes to confirm the tradition that Mr. Blackburne was one of the earliest cultivators of that fine fruit in England. The cotton tree also flourished in the gardens, so that one of the family had a dress made of its produce. One of the palms, possibly the *Saba Blackburnia*, given to Mr. Blackburne by lord Petre in 1737, likewise flourished at Orford, and when the family left there it was removed to Hale, where in a new house which was twice enlarged for it, once by sinking a cellar below it and a second time by raising the roof above it, attained a great size. Amongst other in the garden were: a cedar of Lebanon, which was planted about 1739, which after gaining a girth of thirteen feet was blown over in a great hurricane on the 1st February 1868; a tulip tree whose beautiful flower, only inferior to the magnolia, atones for the exceptional form of its leaf; an eastern plane, which at certain seasons when it changed its bark was spotted like a leopard; a sugar maple and a large-leaved American oak. The *Onoclea sensibilis*, a foreign fern which was long believed to be indigenous to Orford in consequence of its being found in the adjoining wood, where it was discovered by botanists, had merely escaped there from the gardens.

Besides these more uncommon trees and plants Mr. Blackburne had a quincunx of beautiful beach trees, which looked at

on every side appeared to be in line, and groves of birches those ladies of the forest as they have been called, English oaks, elms, wick elms, pines, sycamores, chesnuts, limes, horse chesnuts and other varieties of trees, enough almost to realize the poet's picture:

"Overhead up grew  
Insuperable height of loftiest shade ;  
Cedar and pine and fir, and branching palm."

Pennant who visited Mr. Blackburne at Orford, and saw him enjoying the calm evening of life under the shade of flourishing trees planted by his own hands, looked on him with reverence. But Mr. Blackburne loved animals, especially those of the feathered tribe, as well as trees and plants, and of him the words of an Orford poet might be truly used :

"No beast that roams the plain, no bird that flies,  
But bears its lesson to the good and wise ;  
No worm that creeps, nor plant, nor herb, nor flower,  
But boasts the blessing of instruction's power."

The birds found shelter in his woods and repaid his protection by their songs. Behind his house

"The dob chick waddled through the copse  
On legs and wings, and flies, and wades, and hops."

Here at certain seasons the flocks of wild geese in their flight from Risley to Cuerdley would halt to rest on the way.

In 1758 Mr. Blackburne was a commissioner for settling disputes under the first act for making the Bridgewater canal, which, except the Sankey, was the first canal ever made in England ; and in 1759 he was made a commissioner for settling the like disputes under the second act for making the river Weaver navigable. In 1761 he built the school at Orford and placed a schoolmaster there to teach the children of the village.

Mr. Blackburne, who had made many previous purchases of property in Warrington from the earl of Warrington or his

trustees, in 1764 purchased from them the manor of Warrington and the remainder of the earl's property there. In January and February 1775 he promoted the design of establishing a court of requests at Warrington, cleansing and lighting the town and removing the butchers' stalls. The design gave rise to a paper war, in which there were some things well written which may be seen bound in a volume in the Warrington museum. One of these papers speaks of Mr. Blackburne as a gentleman venerable for many distinguished virtues and of diffusive charity. He had offered 500*l.* towards the proposed object, which however came to nought. One of the papers in a tone of *irony* speaks of "beautiful Bridge-street in all its elegance as likely to be deserted and grass grown." He died at Orford hall on the 20th December 1786 at the patriarchal age of 93. Aikin, who knew him and often enjoyed the pleasure of hearing him converse and who calls him "one of the venerable relics of the last century," says, "his uncommon age was the reward of a very regular and temperate life and a mind undisturbed by violent emotions. His health and tranquillity were also not a little promoted by the turn he took early in life for the cultivation of plants. He retained his faculties in very considerable perfection very nearly to the end of his life. His conversation was cheerful and he had a ready recollection of the events of former years. He loved particularly to speak on topics of horticulture and natural history. He was exemplary in the discharge of his religious duties and in acts of charity to the poor, while his numerous household was governed with the decorum and regular economy which so well suited his station and character."

By his wife Catherine, who died in 1740, he had many sons and daughters, several of whom imbibed their father's literary tastes.

(1.) Thomas his eldest son, who was born on the 19th May 1720, by his marriage with Miss Ireland Greene brought into the family the old Lancashire name of Ireland. He was well known for his knowledge of ancient coins and medals and for

his valuable collection of them, which is still preserved at Hale. Thomas Blackburne died before his father on the 5th January 1767, leaving his wife surviving who died on the 19th August 1795.

(2.) John Blackburne, who settled as a merchant in Liverpool, where in 1745 he was an original subscriber for erecting the new infirmary. In 1755 he was one of the undertakers for making the Sankey canal, and in 1760, the year in which Derrick the Bath master of the ceremonies wrote his amusing account of Liverpool, Mr. Blackburne was the mayor of the borough (Baines's *Liverpool*, p. 425), and he died in 1789. (*Gent. Mag.* for that year.)

(3.) Jonathan Blackburne, who made a famous collection of prints, which was sold in March 1786.

(4.) William Blackburne, who settled in Leeds.

(5.) Anna Blackburne of Fairfield near Warrington, who having imbibed her father's taste for botany, ornithology and other branches of natural history, formed a museum of these and rare objects of vertu, which was enriched with many curious specimens from North America. She was well known to the learned, and amongst them to Dr. Reinhold Forster the companion of captain Cooke, who named a genus of the New Holland plants *Blackburnia* in her honour; while Linnæus the prince of naturalists, with whom she corresponded in Latin, honoured her by calling one of the American warblers after her *Sylvia Blackburniæ*. After a long and useful life she died at Fairfield on the 30th December 1793.

## CHAPTER XII.

JOHN BLACKBURNE, though of the same name as the great patriarch of his house whose successor he became, was not his son but his grandson, being the eldest son of his son Thomas, who from Hale, where he resided, served the office of high sheriff in 1763, and died in his father's lifetime, leaving besides his eldest son two other sons and a daughter. Of these sons Thomas, who entered the Church in 1782, married Margaret the daughter of sir Richard Brooke of Norton, and having taken the degree of doctor of divinity in 1800 was made warden of the Collegiate church of Manchester, which office he held till his death on the 10th January 1823, when this character of him, which was justly deserved, appeared in the public prints: "He was a gentleman of obliging manners, and of ready access to all persons. He had a very impressive manner of reading the prayers, in which he was aided by a most powerful voice. His discourses from the pulpit were universally excellent, both for the soundness of their doctrine and the true Christian morality they inculcated. He was in his 67th year, and he died not less respected than lamented." It may be added that he was distinguished for his Christian charity, and for the love he bore to all good men, especially Christian ministers, however they might differ from him on non-essential points. Isaac Blackburne, Mr. Thomas Blackburne's youngest son, who married Miss Kerfoot of Warrington, while living at Mill Bank served the office of high sheriff in 1803, and his sister Ann married William Bamford esquire of Bamford.

John Blackburne of Hale, who succeeded to the Orford estate

on the death of his grandfather, while living at Hale in 1781 occasionally mixed in Warrington society, and in the same year he served the office of high sheriff of Lancashire. While he served this office there happened two memorable events, the battle in which Rodney destroyed the French fleet and saved Jamaica, and the siege of Gibraltar which ended in saving that fortress. Several soldiers from Warrington served in the siege, and colonel Drinkwater the historian, who was one of them, tells us that the Spanish admiral could not forbear expressing his admiration on seeing prince William, afterwards William IV., serving on board the English admiral's ship with as much activity, promptness and obedience as any other midshipman in the service.

On the retirement of sir Thomas Grey Egerton, after the dissolution of the coalition ministry in the year 1784, Mr. Blackburne attained the high honour of being elected to succeed him as knight of the shire for the great county of Lancaster, which, being then undivided, formed almost a province. In the year 1787 Mr. Blackburne appointed Mr. Hamlet Booth to be the master of the school which his grandfather had built at Orford. Mr. Booth, who remained at Orford until the year 1796, was a schoolmaster after the pattern described by Mr. Jones the New-church poet.

“He wise and good, yet gentle, firm and kind,  
Deals out his knowledge to the tender mind;  
And fain he would with all his skill impart  
Some sacred lesson to improve the heart;  
He cheers the timid and the idle chides,  
With fond regard the young enquirer guides;  
Loath to correct, but eager to commend,  
In him is found the teacher and the friend.”

While Mr. Blackburne and his colleague colonel Stanley represented the county, which they did together until 1812, two admirable full-length portraits of them, painted by Allen, were presented to the county by the first sir Robert Peel and were

placed in the Shire hall, where every one who sees them is struck with the great effect they have in helping to set off its beauty. The colonel in his uniform, and his colleague in his civilian's dress, form a striking and agreeable contrast.

On taking his seat in the house Mr. Blackburne, impressed with a deep sense of the augustness of the assembly, determined to take every opportunity of making himself master of its forms and usages, and accordingly on the first evening that he was present he placed himself near Mr. Cornwallis the speaker, with a view of observing attentively all that took place. A subject of no general interest occupied the house, but the debate on it continued to so late an hour that the speaker, unable to keep awake, dosed in his chair. He roused himself however whenever a speaker ceased ; and waking thus at two o'clock in the morning just as a speaker had sat down, and looking round to see whether any one else was disposed to continue the debate, he saw two members stand up for that purpose, when swinging himself round in his chair he said aloud : " Sir Thomas Ellis and Joseph Mawbey esquire, the former has the precedence ;" and then added, *sotto voce*, " a plague on both their long-winded souls," — a little interlude which somewhat disturbed Mr. Blackburne's opinion of the majesty of the assembly. From this shock however he soon recovered, for he had only been a very short time a member when the subjects which occupied the commons and the manner in which they were treated amply redeemed the lofty dignity of the house. The recent separation of the North American colonies from the mother country and the loss she had sustained by it had made many men grave ; but a proceeding which was shortly to commence, the impeachment and trial of Warren Hastings, elicited from Pitt and Burke and Fox and Sheridan bursts of such transcendent eloquence as had never before been heard within the walls of parliament, and such as might well entitle the speakers to rank with the best orators of Greece and Rome, and their time to be called the Augustan era of English oratory. After one of Mr. Sheridan's speeches, the impression made on



his hearers, was such that the minister found it necessary to move an adjournment of the house, saying "it was then under the wand of an enchanter." The trial of Mr. Hastings was carried on for seven years, and Mr. Blackburne had an enviable opportunity of hearing the marvellous eloquence of the speakers.

In 1792 Mr. Blackburne, who took an interest in friendly societies, had a correspondence with Dr. Wilson of Clitheroe as to the best method of improving them.

No time could be more eventful or more startling than that which witnessed the outburst of the French revolution and the dreadful bloodshed which succeeded it. During this period the house abounded with powerful speakers, but Mr. Blackburne and his colleague colonel Stanley, though they served on numerous committees and were most assiduous in attending the house and in their devotion to the business of the country, gave their votes on most subjects but seldom spoke in the house. In 1791 the French revolution was in its birth-throes, and Mr. Blackburne's brother, who was in Paris and for whom some anxiety was felt, wrote him the following letter :

"My Dear Brother,—You will I doubt not be greatly surprised to hear that y<sup>e</sup> king accompanied by the queen, y<sup>e</sup> Dauphin, Madame Royale, Monsieur, Madame and Madame la sœur du roi privately fled from Paris about two o'clock this morning. It is supposed they have taken the route of Compiègne and y<sup>e</sup> forest des Ardennes in their road into Germany; their flight was not discovered till about seven this morn<sup>g</sup>. The alarm, confusion and doubt this event has caused you may easily imagine; yet all hitherto is perfectly quiet, *no one* is on any account suffered to quit this city, all shops and spectacles are shut up, money is not to be got. Monsieur de la Fayette was this morning arrested by the mob at the place de Grève and for some moments his life was in y<sup>e</sup> greatest danger; he was however rescued by four députés from the assemblée nationale expressly sent for that purpose. Several attempts have been made to hang unpopular characters, but as yet no one has suffered. I have scarcely sat down since seven o'clock this morn<sup>g</sup> and I am nearly knocked up. The streets are lighted up by the command

of the municipalit  to prevent robberies or murders. Adieu for the present.

Affectionately yours, I. BLACKBURNE.

Paris, Tuesday June y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup>,

Twelve o'clock at night 1791?

Wednesday morn<sup>e</sup>—The accounts concerning de la Fayette are much exaggerated I find. He declared himself in the assembl e nationale yesterday that tho' he was surrounded and somewhat molested by the mob from a false suspicion that he was privy to y<sup>e</sup> king's escape, yet that no insult was offer'd him, nor was he ever threatened with the *Lantern*.

The declaration of the king brought to y<sup>e</sup> assembl e nationale by one of his majesty's valets after his departure from the Thuilleries, was read aloud in the assembl e by one of the secretaries. It shews that his majesty complains 'of the abolition of the monarchial government,' of the inconveniences he is put to in the Chateau des Thuilleries, of the seditious motions every day made in y<sup>e</sup> Palais Royale, of the abolition of his gardes du corps. That his faithful subjects were used very ill by y<sup>e</sup> national guards in y<sup>e</sup> night of y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> at y<sup>e</sup> Thuilleries; that he has been obliged against his will to receive y<sup>e</sup> sacrament from the hands of y<sup>e</sup> curate of saint Germain L'Auxerrois, one of y<sup>e</sup> clergy who has taken y<sup>e</sup> oaths.

Write and say what you will to my mother so as not to alarm her on the subject. I cannot quit Paris if I would, and I would not if I could. All I repeat again is perfectly a . . . .

Wednesday afternoon.—Nothing new.

Thursday morning. — About nine o'clock last night a courier arrived at y<sup>e</sup> assembl e nationale, who had sat ever since y<sup>e</sup> departure of the king and had declared themselves *permanent*, with y<sup>e</sup> news that the royal family were all of them arrested at a small village called Varenne, within a very short distance of Metz y<sup>e</sup> place of their destination. This news was announced to y<sup>e</sup> world by y<sup>e</sup> firing of cannon and y<sup>e</sup> beat of drums. Two decrees immediately passed y<sup>e</sup> assembl e, y<sup>e</sup> first was, that y<sup>e</sup> royal family s<sup>d</sup> be reconducted to Paris with all possible expedition; y<sup>e</sup> second that they sho<sup>d</sup> be attended with a sufficient guard to protect them from the fury of y<sup>e</sup> mob. It seems le marquis de Bouille has joined y<sup>e</sup> royal party, y<sup>e</sup> marquis you know is commander at Metz. Inform my friends of this great event, I have not time.

Affectionately yours, I. BLACKBURNE."

In 1802 Mr. Blackburne and his colleague colonel Stanley were invited to a banquet at Manchester as a testimony to their public services.

Mr. Blackburne, who continued to represent the county down to the year 1830, had seen peace thrice made with France, and had witnessed the public rejoicings for the battles of the Nile, Trafalgar and Waterloo. In the year 1830, after having served the county for forty-six years, he retired from public life. After the death of his grandfather, whom he succeeded, Mr. Blackburne went to reside at Orford hall, and he continued there until the early part of the present century, when, his mother Mrs. Ireland Blackburne being then dead, he removed to the house at Hale, which he took by descent from her.

Mr. Blackburne married Miss Anna Rodberd of Wiltshire, who died before him. He was born on the 5th August 1754, and died on the 11th April 1833. He was buried at Hale with this inscription on his monument :

"Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas  
Quando ullum invenient parem?  
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit."

He was succeeded by his eldest son, John Ireland Blackburne esquire, the present worthy lord of the manor of Warrington.

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PART II.

B E W S E Y.

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"See where yon venerable mansion rears  
Its aged front in rude majestic state  
Tow'ring; and such as erst our artless sires,  
More studious of convenience and ease  
Than labour'd elegance, admired and prized:  
Emblem perhaps of their plain honest minds,  
Which cherished more the charms of innate worth  
Than all the tinsel glare of outside show."

*THE LORDS OF BEWSEY AFTER  
ITS SEPARATION FROM  
WARRINGTON.*

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CHAPTER I.

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AFTER the division of the great Boteler fee upon the sale of Warrington by the second Thomas Ireland, which had the effect of passing to the Booths the larger portion of the fee, the hall and manor of Bewsey, with the lands in Sankey and Burtonwood, the advowson of the church and the right of nominating a master to the grammar school remained with the Irelands, and on the death of Thomas Ireland on the 16th January 1638 they devolved to Margaret, his only child and heiress, who was born on the 31st July 1630 in the lower Boteler's chamber at Warrington, which was most probably a room in the parsonage.

On the 26th January 1646, while she was living at Bewsey and was little more than 15, she married her kinsman Gilbert, afterwards sir Gilbert Ireland knight of Hale. (*Warrington Parish Register*.) In the troublesome times from 1640 to 1660 it would seem that Bewsey, where she lived before her marriage and where she and her husband lived occasionally afterwards, was made the rendezvous of the parliament party. Her husband, who was born at Hale in 1624, and who was either by birth or otherwise a freeman of Liverpool, took a considerable part in its

local politics, and very early espoused the side of the parliament. On the 24th May 1643, when that party were preparing to attack the royalists then in possession of Warrington, sir Thomas Stanley and other parliament leaders issued orders to all their friends to gather in and provide victuals and provisions, and bring them the following morning to Bewsey hall, "as they would answer the contrary at their peril." On the 29th August 1645, Mr. Ireland being then a member of the house of commons, was one of the seven members named a committee to assess the county, and in 1647 the house appointed him one of the committee for licensing ministers of religion, which seems an odd office to be exercised by a layman. From 1648 to May 1649 he was high sheriff of Lancashire, and the sad tragedy of the king's execution was enacted while he filled that office. In the list of sheriffs he is called sir Gilbert Ireland knight, a title which he certainly had not then acquired. (Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*, p. 211, Chetham soc.; *Hist. Lanc.*, vol. i. p. 207; Gregson's *Fragments*, p. 295.) Of the assessment of Warrington, made under the directions above given to the committee of the house, there has come down to us a copy made in 1649, which, as it is curious, we print entire. The tenth and fifteenth were not personal taxes, but were those proportions of the value of property in cities, boroughs and other places which was put upon them in 8 Edward III. (1334.) The fifteenth for the county of Lancaster in 1649 was 329*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*, of which the proportion to be raised by Warrington was 2*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* or 4*s.* 8*d.* more than Liverpool. (*Lanc. Lieut.*, p. lxxxiv, Chetham soc.) The sum ordered to be collected from Warrington in 1649 was probably three-fifteenths and a half, but the sum raised by the subjoined rate exceeds that amount, probably because no rate could be laid which would raise the exact sum.

#### *The Rate.*

According to a warrant dated at Manchester the 10th May 1649, for the assessinge of 9*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* upon the towneshipe of Warrington, we, the assessors, have assessed and delivered a

copye to the constable to be deliverred accordinge to order 29th May.

*Sessors.*

John Barnes		John Huthworth	
Elice Mather		Richard Barron	
Randle Platt		Henri Hill	
John Bruch .....	1 9	William Marsh cū filio..	2 6
Richard Turnar .....	0 6	John Pattan.....	0 9
John Barkar.....	1 0	John Ashworth .....	0 9
John Erlome .....	0 6	Thomas Royle.....	0 6
Lawrence Eccleston ...	2 0	John Cleave.....	0 6
Thomas Ridur.....	0 6	William Booth.....	0 7
Charles Clarke.....	0 6	Thomas Stubs.....	0 6
Widow Mullinexe .....	1 0	Edmund Hoalden .....	0 8
Ralph Goulborne .....	0 7	Nicholas Everett cū filio	2 6
Thomas Gortton .....	0 4	William Pickton .....	1 3
Nicholas Mullinexe.....	0 6	Widow Ashton .....	2 9
James Drinkwater .....	0 4	Thomas Pattan .....	3 0
John Hillton .....	0 8	Thomas Cassan .....	0 6
Edward Manuell.....	0 4	Robart Balling .....	0 9
Robert Pargrival cū fillio	1 0	Thomas Mullinexe .....	0 9
Thomas Cheaney .....	0 8	Henri Litler.. .....	0 9
Nicholas Goulden .....	0 10	Henri Beete et Thomas	
Edward Rilands .....	0 9	Pattan .....	2 0
Thomas Mather .....	0 4	John Grimsditch .....	0 9
Edward Everrett.....	1 9	William Wolley .....	5 0
Petur Jackson .....	0 4	William Pedge .....	2 6
Henri Gillman.....	2 6	John Bearstowes .....	0 6
Margaret Pankroft .....	0 9	Edward Diconson .....	1 0
William Higginson .....	0 6	John Chadick .....	0 4
Edward Clayton .....	0 6	John Pinnington .....	0 9
Thomas Hurst.....	1 4	John Sothworth .....	1 0
Henri Corllas .....	2 6	Thomas Bispham .....	0 9
Thomas Nield, at Mr.		Richerd Woodfend .....	0 4
Church .....	1 3	Thomas Wurrull .....	1 6



John Hill et Midleton...	1	3	Thomas Newall .....	1	0
Alize Goalborne .....	0	8	Thomas Hunkinson ...	1	0
William Midleton cū filio	0	9	Elice Mather .....	0	8
Widow Drinkwater.....	0	6	Thomas Jackson .....	1	3
Thomas Denketman...	1	6	Henri Martendell .....	0	4
Franchis Williamson ...	1	6	John Smith .....	0	6
Widow Sedon cū filio...	0	3	Richard Parr .....	0	9
Widow Smallshaw .....	0	2	William Dunbain .....	0	8
Nicholas .....	0	0	Margarett Kingsley ...	0	8
William Leyland.....	0	0	William Sixsmith .....	0	6
John Knowlles.....	0	0	Mr. Bridgman .....	3	4
Thomas Beckinson .....	0	3	Mr. Barran .....	0	9
William Cotton .....	0	2	Thomas Bullinge.....	2	6
John Boode cū filio.....	0	6	Anna Fearnley .....	1	0
Thomas Wayndwright..	0	9	Petar Willding.....	0	9
William Hey .....	1	0	Bobart Gllave .....	0	4
William Cheshire cū filio	1	0	Widow Willme .....	0	4
Thomas Tamlinson.....	0	6	John Eccleston .....	1	3
James Meakin .....	0	9	Richard Cartwright.....	0	6
Richerd Chow .....	0	6	Richerd Hastlegreve ...	2	0
Thurston Peake .....	1	0	William Barrow .....	0	6
M. S. Mather .....	0	6	John Jenkins .....	1	0
John Barnes.....	1	0	William Fayrcloagh ...	1	0
Henri Hillton .....	1	6	Richard Bartonwood ...	2	0
William Houghton .....	0	7	Thomas Scarsbrick.....	0	8
John Mather .....	0	9	William Broocke cū filio	2	6
Widow Southworth.....	0	8	James Eccleston .....	1	0
William Clear .....	1	0	Widow Flidcroft ..	0	6
Thomas Mather cū filio..	1	0	Raph Danbabin .....	0	9
John Wright .....	0	9	John Danbabin .....	1	6
John Hunt .....	1	0	John Danbabin de Sanky	0	9
M. Ellenworth.....	2	0	Richerd Abraham .....	2	0
Isacke Dyson .....	1	0	Widow Smith cū matre..	0	6
Thomas Sollomon .....	0	8	Petar Farnar .....	0	6
Gilles Hynsworth .....	0	7	John Beswick .....	0	4

William Smith .....	0	9	Thomas Bllakeborne ...	3	6
A. Bordman.....	0	8	Thomas Mather .....	1	0
Henri Kingsley .....	0	6	Thomas Smith .....	1	0
Samuel Burrow cū matre	1	9	John Bordman.....	0	9
Thomas Uosoncroft ...	0	9	Henri Mather .....	1	0
John Marsh .....	1	0	Thomas Willme .....	1	0
Robart Barlay.....	0	4	Edward Platt .....	1	0
Robart Mascey .....	2	4	William Sorrocoll .....	5	0
John Beeke .....	0	9	William Smith.....	0	6
William Rowlinson.....	1	0	Peter Bordman ....	2	6
Raph Richerdson .....	0	6	Jonathan Pickering.....	1	0
Alize Foulcher .....	1	0	John Houlbrock cū filio	1	6
William Burtonwood ...	2	0	Henri Sedon ....	1	6
John Loweton .....	0	6	Richerd Hankinson.....	1	0
Raph Ditchfeld .....	0	9	Petar Brook, Esq. ....	2	6
George Jackson .....	0	9	Richard Barrow .....	0	6
John Gllave .....	0	9	Rundle Barnes.....	1	0
Henri Millnar .....	0	5	Mr. Ireland, Esq.....	3	0
John Hoalbrooke carrier	0	5	Richerd Device .....	1	0
Thomas Sutworth .....	0	4	Raph Bankes .....	1	6
Thomas Beswick.....	0	6	Thomas Wright .....	1	0
Allan Ruslethwyd .....	1	6	Thomas Boode .....	0	6
Thomas Mather .....	1	2	Robart Bulling .....	2	0
William Unsworth .....	0	6	Widow Barnes.....	2	0
Thomas Cotton .....	0	9	Edward Rylands.....	0	2
Jeremia Smith.....	0	8	Widow Sankey .....	0	2
Thomas Mather Gent...	0	6	Robart Hankinson .....	0	3
Edward Copeland .....	0	8	Brian Travice .....	0	3
Henri Hankinson .....	0	6	Henri Hill ....	0	4
Thomas Unsworth .....	1	0	Thomas ..	0	2
Randle Platt .....	1	9	John Boode .....	0	0

Among the persons above assessed Mr. Ireland's own name occurs, so that he was then probably living at Bewsey though he was also an occupier of the rectory house or some other property in Warrington. On the 19th December 1651, being appealed to

by his neighbours the Farnworth people, Mr. Ireland wrote a letter in their behalf to the mayor of Chester respecting the appointment of a schoolmaster to their school. In the parliament called in 1654 he was elected member for Lancashire, and was then called colonel Gilbert Ireland. (*Hist. Lanc.*, vol. i. p. 319, and *Burton's Diary*, *passim*.) In this parliament he was a frequent speaker. About March 1655 he accompanied his brother-in-law, Peter Aspinwall, to Frodsham to examine the royalist colonel Worden as to Edward Halsall's share in the murder of Ascham. (*Moore Rental*, p. 139, Chetham soc.) Ascham the parliamentary envoy had been murdered at Madrid, and Edward Halsall, who was at one time erroneously supposed to have written the siege of Lathom house, was as erroneously suspected of having been privy to Ascham's murder. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xx.; *Hist. Lanc.*, vol. iv. p. 251 *in notis*.) In 1655, having been appointed governor of Liverpool on the 10th April, he wrote to Cromwell the protector thus: "Yesterday I received the government of Liverpool, wherein, as in all other trusts, I shall diligently wait for and observe all your commands."

In 1656 he was again elected member of parliament for Lancashire. (*Hist. Lanc.*, vol. i. p. 319.) And on the 22nd December of that year the Cheshire militia, calling themselves the Cheshire brigade, who had marched against the Scots in 1651, having presented a petition praying for their arrears of pay due since Worcester fight, colonel Ireland was appointed one of the committee upon it. (*Burton's Diary*, vol. i. p. 200.)

On the 9th April 1657, when it was proposed to offer Cromwell the kingly crown, he was one of the members who voted for it. On the 29th April in the same year he moved that the ordinances for reviving the jurisdiction of the county palatine of Lancaster and for holding the assizes there be continued, and it was carried accordingly. (*Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 65.) And the next day he moved to have the act made in the *little parliament* for settling 500*l.* per annum upon the earl of Derby confirmed. (*Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 80.)

In 1658 colonel Ireland, who was then called Mr. Ireland, attended the funeral of Cromwell as one of his equerries. (Burton's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 524.)

In the same year and in 1659 he and alderman Blackmore were elected to represent Liverpool in Richard Cromwell's parliament (*Moore Rental*, Chetham soc.), and he was again a member in 1660.

In despair of seeing any settled government under Richard Cromwell or his dynasty, colonel Ireland joined sir George Booth in his rising, and having been mentioned in his proclamation as one of his partisans was soon afterwards appointed by him governor of Liverpool. He marched with sir George to Winnington, and in the disastrous battle fought there on the 19th or 20th August 1659 he was made prisoner and sent with the rest of those who were taken to Chester castle. (*Hist. Chesh.*, vol. i. pref. p. xli. *in notis.*) He must have been soon released however, for early in the next year he and the honourable William Stanley, lord Derby's brother, were elected members of the convention parliament for Liverpool, and he joined his colleague in voting for the king's recall. On the 23rd October in the same year a light horse[man] was ordered to be taken off sir Gilbert Ireland, and he was to be charged with two carbines instead. (*Peet MS.*, *Proceedings of the Lieutenancy.*)

After the restoration colonel Ireland was knighted by the king, and the next year (1661) he and his former colleague were again elected members for Liverpool. In 1670 Mr. Stanley, who was still his colleague, died suddenly in London in the afternoon of Tuesday the 25th October. Sir Gilbert being then at Hale, his London correspondent Mr. Thomas Bowyer, seemingly a news writer, wrote to inform him of the event. We do not know how long Mr. Bowyer's letter, which was directed to be sent by Warrington, was in reaching Hale, but it was probably delivered on the 29th; and the same post brought also a letter from Mr. Wharton, the father of a rising barrister, praying for sir Gilbert's influence to have him elected in Mr. Stanley's

place. There were very shortly six or more candidates in the field, most of whom sought sir Gilbert's support, but in the end sir William Bucknall, a London alderman, carried the election against all the other candidates and against sir Gilbert's wishes. There were then but eighty-three freemen in the borough, and sir William doubtless caught some of them either in golden nets or by liberal hospitality and treating. (*Liverpool Historic Society's Proceedings*, p. 4 and appendix, 1853-4.)

On the 26th April 1673 the earl of Bridgewater, lord lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, wrote to inform sir Gilbert that by his majesty's command he had been appointed a deputy-lieutenant of Lancashire. On the 18th October 1674, then the charter day of electing the mayor of Liverpool, sir Gilbert was elected to that office; but on the 20th April 1675 whilst he was still filling it he died suddenly at Bewsey, and Thomas Bixteth was appointed his successor for the remainder of the year. (Gregson's *Fragments*, p. 218.) He died, it is said, of apoplexy after a not very long life of 51 years and after having seen many political changes. The times were not temperate and an election was then a serious affair, so grave indeed that sir Gilbert's expenses as member for Liverpool are said to have seriously impoverished him. His death occasioned the necessity for a new election, and on the 6th May following his kinsman William Bankes esquire of Winstanley was elected in his stead. The contrast in age between William Stanley, sir Gilbert's former colleague, and William Bankes his successor, was very great, the ages of the two being just reversed, the former having been 19, and the latter 91 years of age. (*Moore Rental*, p. 132 *et seq.*, Chetham soc.) Sir Gilbert was buried at Hale on the 13th May 1675, and a full account of his funeral is given in the *Harl. MSS.*, No. 2129, art. 123. Over his remains there was erected a costly monument of which there now remains no trace except a small fragment preserved in the vicar's garden. He died childless, and in allusion to it this line was inscribed on his tomb:

“Ultimus domûs, fiat voluntas Dei!”

Dame Margaret so deeply lamented her husband's death, and its suddenness proved so severe a shock to her that in less than two months afterwards, as if looking speedily to her own decease, she made her will dated 28th June 1675, and commenced it thus: "In the name of God, amen, even so be all things hereafter written and done. I, Dame Margaret Ireland of Bewsey, in the county of Lancaster widow, being through God's goodness and mercy, who is the Father of all spirits, of a disposing mind and sound judgment and memory, do make this my will." After which, and the utterance of many pious sentiments very beautifully expressed, she limits certain estates in remainder to her kinsman George Jeffreys (afterwards the infamous judge and chancellor), and leaves him 400*l.* as a legacy. She then limits Bewsey to Richard Atherton esquire for life, with remainder to his first and other sons successively in tail. At this time, according to the map in Gibson's *Camden*, ed. 1695, Bewsey hall stood surrounded by a spacious park. Dame Margaret must have died shortly after the date of her will, for on the 15th July 1675 this entry occurs in the Warrington register, "B" [buried] "the lady Margaret Ireland of Bewsey;" but notwithstanding this entry Dr. Hume is of opinion that she was buried at Hale in the same grave with her husband. The gift of a sum of 5*l.* a year, charged on Gate warth estate for Winwick school, is said to have been one of dame Margaret's acts of charity.

## CHAPTER II.



RICHARD, afterwards SIR RICHARD ATHERTON, of Atherton and Bewsey, who under the will of dame Margaret Ireland succeeded on her death to the manor of Bewsey, was the son of that John Atherton of Atherton who married Elinor the daughter of sir Thomas Ireland, and was sheriff of Lancashire in 1655 and died in 1657. John Livesey the minister of Atherton preached a funeral sermon on his death, which was afterwards printed and published. Mr. Atherton, who had been a justice of the peace and a captain under Oliver Cromwell, is said to have carried things with so very high a hand that he was not popular in his own neighbourhood. His son Richard was born on the 22nd September 1656. On the 27th November 1676, according to the Warrington register, he married "Mistress Isabel Holt of Castleton and Stubley," and was called Richard Atherton esquire of Bewsey. Politics are not hereditary like an estate, and, although the father had been a zealous partisan of Cromwell, the son having heard much to disgust him with the times which had just ended became a high tory. In 1671 there having been an election for Liverpool in which the returning officer had made a return declaring sir Ralph Assheton baronet of Whalley and Richard Atherton esquire as the members who had been duly chosen, sir Edward Moore baronet of Moore hall petitioned against the decision; and on the hearing of it both those gentlemen were unseated, and Richard Wentworth and John Dubois esquires were declared to have been the members who were elected and ought to have been returned.

William Atherton, one of his ancestors, had indentured with

the king before Agincourt to serve him with one man-at-arms and two archers. (Hunter's *Tracts*, 42.) He did good service and won his spurs in the battle, and it was probably some dispute about the spoils of the day that led to a subsequent quarrel, which is thus related by sir Peter Leycester :

"Great contention fell between sir Peter Dutton and sir William Atherton of Lancashire, insomuch that they made inroads and invasions upon one another ; and sir Peter and his adherents, sir Ralph Bostock of Bostock, Richard Warburton of Budworth, Thomas Warburton of Halton, John Done the younger of Utkinton, John Manley of Manley, Hugh Dutton the elder of Hatton, William Leycester of Nether Tabley, sir Peter Legh of Clifton (an ancestor of Legh of Lyme), and John Carington of Carington, were all sued by sir William for taking away out of his closes at Atherton forty oxen and forty cows, and for beating his servants. But this variance between them was composed on the 9th April 7 Henry V. (1419) by the award of John duke of Bedford, earl of Richmond and Kendal, constable of England and regent of the kingdom in the absence of Henry V., restitution being awarded on both sides : the horses and saddles taken by sir William Atherton to be restored to sir Peter Dutton, and the cattle taken by sir Piers to be restored to sir William." (*Lib. C*, fol. 146*n* ; *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. i. p. 479.)

In 1684 the celebrated Jeffreys, who was now no less than chief justice of England, which should have unfitted him for being a tool of the court, came to the house of his kinsman Mr. Atherton at Bewsey, with a view of overawing or influencing the corporation of Liverpool to submit to the king's wishes and surrender their charters. Jeffreys had commenced his practice of the law at the bar of the Old bailey, where constantly dealing with the worst characters of London he had had such an opportunity of exercising his vituperative powers that he became the most consummate bully ever known in his profession. Beginning his political career as a roundhead, he continued so until Chiffinch the king's minion introduced



him at Whitehall, where he soon found a patron in the king's revengeful brother the duke of York. But the king, who had no affinity with insolence and cruelty, always regarded him with scorn and disgust, and was heard to say of him that "he had no learning, no sense, no manners, and more impudence than ten carted street walkers." (Macaulay's *Hist. Eng.*, vol. i. p. 447.) His impudence however did not sustain him when he was attacked in parliament as an *abhorrer* and appeared at the bar and reprimanded on his knees, which gave the king occasion to say "he was not parliament proof." Lord Warrington's account of his behaviour at the assizes at Chester in 1680 has been already given, to which we may add the following short summary of his character from a modern historian: "The depravity of Jeffreys has passed into a proverb. Both the great English parties have attacked his memory with emulous violence, for the whigs considered him their most barbarous enemy and the Tories found it convenient to throw on him the blame of all the crimes which had sullied their triumph. He was a man of quick and vigorous parts, but constitutionally prone to insolence and to the angry passions. When just emerging from boyhood he had risen into practice at the Old bailey bar, where advocates have always used a license of tongue unknown in Westminster hall." (Macaulay's *Hist. Eng.*, vol. i. p. 447.) In 1684 the chief justice sent out his summons to the corporation of Liverpool to attend him at Bewsey, and in answer to this unconstitutional mandate a deputation consisting of the mayor, the town clerk, and sixteen members of the corporation, attended his summons bringing with them their charters. We have no particulars of the conference which took place, but we know that the corporation did not take back their charters but gave them to Jeffreys who took them to London as he had orders to do. On the 4th April following, Mr. Atherton in the meantime having been elected mayor, the corporation, in pursuance of another summons, came again to Bewsey, where, after being entertained by

the mayor with more than municipal hospitality they received, it is presumed from the hands of the chief justice, the new and slavish charter which enabled the king to remove any member of the council at his pleasure. (Baines's *Hist. Liverpool*, p. 337.)

It may seem strange that this was not the first time that Bewsey had been the place of sojourn of a Liverpool mayor, for sir Gilbert Ireland had not only resided there in his mayoralty, but David Griffith, otherwise Harvey, one of the Welsh friends who having followed the fortunes of Henry of Richmond and become lessee under the crown of the fee farm rent of Liverpool, had been mayor there in 1503, and had occasionally resided at Bewsey. It was probably from Bewsey that on the 31st August 1490 he wrote the business letter printed in the *Plumpton Papers*. On the 22nd June 1684, while Mr. Atherton was still mayor, he was knighted by the king at Windsor, and became sir Richard Atherton knight.

On the 23rd April 1685, when the coronation of James II. took place, it is almost certain that the new knight of Bewsey was present to witness the ceremony, at which the chief justice's influence would be able to secure him a good place in the abbey. Shortly afterwards the king called a parliament, and sir Richard was again chosen one of the representatives for Liverpool, having for his colleague Thomas Leigh esquire.

Having had the misfortune to lose his first wife, sir Richard married Agnes, the daughter of Miles Dodding of Conishead priory. To so warm a friend of James II. as sir Richard Atherton, the revolution of 1688 was anything but satisfactory, and in the convention parliament he did not seek to be re-elected. Whether he took the new order of things so to heart that it affected his health we do not know, but before the 7th March 1688 he was in his grave. His second wife, by whom he had no issue, did not survive him many weeks. The following children were the issue of his first marriage :

- (1.) John Atherton of Atherton and Bewsey, who succeeded him, was baptized at Warrington on the 29th January 1678.
- (2.) Catherine, who was baptized on the 3rd April 1679 ; and died unmarried 1768.
- (3.) Isabel, who was baptized on the 24th January 1682.
- (4.) Dorothy, who was baptized on the 17th December 1682.

## CHAPTER III.

JOHN ATHERTON, sir Richard's only son, succeeded upon his father's death to the estates of Atherton and Bewsey. He was born about January 1678. Very soon after his father's death the grammar school feoffees signed the following consent to an alteration in the school-house (the original of which is in the Warrington museum):

" March y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1687.

Whereas there is an old decay'd House in the Church Street of Warrington belonging to the Schoolm<sup>r</sup> of the s<sup>d</sup> Town, w<sup>ch</sup> by its frequent necessary Repairs is considerably of more expence than advantage to the Present Mast<sup>r</sup> and hath tended to the Prejudice rather than Profit of his late Predecessors. Therefore we, James Holte and W<sup>m</sup> Bankes Esq<sup>s</sup> as feoffees of S<sup>r</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Atherton (not long since deceased) do give our free consent unto Sam: Shaw y<sup>e</sup> present Schoolm<sup>r</sup> to remove y<sup>e</sup>.s<sup>d</sup> House and to affix it to the School and conceiving that this will be convenient (when habitable) not only for the Present M<sup>r</sup> but also for his successors, therefore we whose names are foremention'd as Feoffees of the s<sup>d</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Rich: Atherton do subscribe 40*l*. towards the Rebuilding therof to be Paid when the work is perfected. As witnes our Hands the day and year above written.

JA: HOLTE.

W<sup>m</sup> BANKES.

(Endorsed)

The order for y<sup>e</sup> Removall  
of y<sup>e</sup> old house in the  
Church Street and 40<sup>li</sup>  
allow'd by Busic."

On the 10th January 1691, while Mr. Atherton was still a minor, the rev. Samuel Shaw M.A. was presented to the rectory of Warrington, then of small value, by James Holt esquire, Mr. Atherton's curator or guardian. Mr. Shaw, who had been master of the grammar school at Wigan, was licensed by bishop Cartwright, on whom he had made a favourable impression by a congratulatory Latin address at Wigan, to the Warrington school on the 28th January 1688. Mr. Shaw amply justified the good opinion Mr. Atherton's guardian had entertained of him, and made both a good schoolmaster and an excellent rector. He was also a king's preacher, an office which queen Elizabeth had instituted at a time when preachers to promote the reformed doctrines were very few and were much wanted. Mr. Shaw was by no means idle in this office. In a letter from him to the bishop in 1693 he states that he and others for him had preached above forty sermons in the previous half year. His principal charge as king's preacher was Holinfare, where he preached two sermons a month until a regular curate was found in the person of the rev. John Collier (the father of the great Lancashire humorist *Tim Bobbin*). Mr. Shaw undertook, at his own expense, to recover some lands of the grammar school which the charity appeared to have lost, and after considerable litigation the lands were recovered; which well entitles Mr. Shaw to be ranked amongst the founders of the school. He rebuilt the old school in 1688, as was evidenced by the date and inscription which were upon it until it was replaced by the present school-house. (Mr. Marsh's *Account of the Foundation and History of the Boteler Free Grammar School*, p. 68.) Under his direction the steeple of the old church, now also taken down, was built and with the patron's consent, although Mr. Atherton was still under age. He put up the west gallery of the church, with this inscription on it: "Permissu Johannis Atherton arm. ecclesiæ hujusce patroni contignationem hanc construxerunt S. Shaw eccl̃e. rector F. Chesshyre. M. Page Æditui 1696." Above the inscription were the Atherton arms and crest. Mr.

Atherton was of age and living at Bewsey on the 21st April 1702, and the Warrington register then records the burial of "William Bevan, the steward of Mr. Atherton at Bewsey."

He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Robert Cholmondeley esquire, of Vale Royal, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of sir Henry Vernon of Hodnet in the county of Salop baronet. The marriage took place soon after Mr. Atherton came of age, and he lived but a short time afterwards, for on the 20th January 1707 our Parish register records his burial as having taken place at Leigh. The issue of the marriage were :

(1.) Richard, who succeeded him.

(2.) Elizabeth, to whom her cousin Henrietta Vernon devised Hodnet in 1792. Elizabeth in 1722 married Thomas Heber of Marton, by whom she became the mother of the celebrated bishop Heber.

## CHAPTER IV.

RICHARD ATHERTON esquire, who upon the death of his father John Atherton esquire in 1707 succeeded to the estates of Atherton and Bewsey, was born in 1700. At his father's death he was still a minor, but soon after he came of age he married Elizabeth, the daughter of William Warrington esquire of Worden, who survived him and afterwards married Dr. Goldsmith. On the death of rector Shaw on the 17th September 1718, while he was still under age, Mr. Atherton presented the rev. Thomas Egerton M.A. to the rectory of Warrington, who was instituted and inducted on the 22nd January 1719. Thomas Tildesley the diarist calls the town's bailiff of the mock corporation of Walton in 1719 Mr. Atherton, and says he was treated by him at the Black bull on the 9th April. In 1723 Mr. Atherton gave 200*l.* towards augmenting the chapel at Atherton, and was active in procuring its consecration, which Mr. Baines says led to the building about this time of the dissenting chapel at Chowbent (*Hist. Lanc.*, vol. iii. p. 613). On this subject in the same year he wrote the following letter, which is now in the Warrington museum, to the bishop of Chester:

“My lord,—I have received the honour of your lordship's letter, and take it as a proof of the regard your lordship professes to have for me, that you complain so candidly of the omission committed in point of decorum and the respect due to the bishop of Man, your representative upon the consecration of my chapel; but I assure myself your lordship will acquit me from all imputation of disrespect either to yourself or him when I inform you that at and before the time appointed for the ceremony I laboured under so dangerous a quinsy that my physician

doubted of my life. At a juncture of this kind you will believe and approve it, that my thoughts were fully taken up and employed on matters of much more immediate and much greater concern to me than the decency which at any other time my veneration for the church and the great esteem I have both of your lordship and the bishop of Man would have extracted from me. I am extremely pleased, and flatter myself that by your lordship's interposition the controversy betwixt the university and me in relation to Standish is likely to be determined in an amicable way, and to that end I am willing to submit the difference to the gentleman you mention, or to your lordship's own decision, of whose judgment and justice I have the greatest confidence. I find that you apprehended that Mr. Ryley obtained his presentation by some indirection, and though I am very sure your lordship has been misinformed, yet I think I have so much influence over him that I can prevail with him to resign his title, and enable me to present a person more acceptable. I know your lordship's zeal for the church, and therefore take the liberty to recommend Mr. Rawney, the lord Down's third son, to your lordship's approbation, whose character at Christ church I presume you remember. If the controversy fortune to be determined in my favour, and your lordship approve my choice, I intend to present him, but I neither have given nor will give him any information of my design till I receive an answer from your lordship. I would have answered yours sooner but the remains of my illness hanging on me and my wife being at the time in some danger, I doubt not you will pardon your lordship's dutiful obedient humble servant,

RICHARD ATHERTON.

My wife begs to join in humble service to your lady and daughter."

On the 16th April 1723 it was agreed, it is presumed with Mr. Atherton's consent, "That Thomas Patten of the Cornmarket and Giles Fairclough merchant, should have liberty to erect, at their own cost and charges, an additional building of the compass of twenty square feet or thereabouts, joining to Mr. Massey's chapel in Warrington church, and to build therein such seats and a gallery as they should think proper, or to set or dispose of the same to the parishioners, obliging themselves and



their heirs and assigns to provide sufficient lights and to keep up the new building for ever in good repair." This memorandum, which was signed by Mr. Robert Hughes the curate of Warrington, was confirmed by a faculty on the 16th July following.

On the 23rd April 1723 rector Egerton resigned the living of Warrington, and on the 21st June following Mr. Atherton presented John Haddon M.A. to the living. Mr. Haddon was a poet, and his friend John Byrom the poet and an inventor of a system of shorthand, thus introduces him in this poetical invitation :

"To Haddon, John, and Heywood, Thomas, greeting :

On Friday next there is to be a meeting  
At ancient Bufton's, where the brethren, Wright,  
Baskervyle, Swinton, Toft's facetious knight,  
Legh, Lancaster, and Cattel, if he can,  
And on the same terms, Clowes, the alderman,  
Have all agreed to hold, upon the border  
Of Altrincham, a chapter of the order.

Now, then, sagacious brethren, if the time  
Suits with convenience as it does with rhyme,  
I hope we safely may depend upon  
The representatives of Warrington ;  
See that no business contradict your journey,  
If any should, transact it by attorney ;  
On Friday morn be ready, spurred and booted,  
That your convenience may not be unsuited.

Moreover, brethren, if the time permit,  
Bring something in your pockets neatly writ,  
For thus it was agreed by all our votes,  
That every member should produce his notes :  
'Bring every man some writing of his own,  
That we mayn't meet for theory alone,'  
Said the Grand Master, 'But for practice also.'  
To which the general answer was, 'We shall so.'

Could I but once a country congress fix  
Before the winter calls me up to Dick's,  
And tie therewith, as with a short hand tether,  
My Lancashire and Cheshire sons together,  
Then emulation would perhaps inspire,  
And one example set the rest on fire ;  
So should my sons of Lancashire and Cheshire  
Work every one at short hand like a thresher.

Yea, meet, my sons ; appoint a short hand feast,  
Each fortnight, three weeks, or each month at least ;  
Lest it be said by long hand men profane,  
We taught so many clever folks in vain.  
Be not discouraged, then, if one by one —  
Dull solitude ! — you go but slowly on,  
For when you meet together in a bundle,  
Adzooks ! you cannot think how fast you'll trundle.

So saith the simile : we mortal people  
Are like the bells that hang within a steeple,  
Where one poor solitary single bell,  
Working alone, prolongs a dismal knell,  
But, altogether, with one common zeal,  
Join merrily enough to ring a peal."

*(Byrom's Remains.)*

In 1723 Mr. Atherton laid the foundation of a magnificent hall at Atherton, the vast extent of which, with its frontage of one hundred and two feet, made it palatial in its character ; but, alas ! there might justly have been written upon it :

"Struimus in diem sed nox venit."

The founder did not even live to see his work completed, and the house, after it had stood for a century, was then taken down. In 1825, when this happened, the common people, who love mystery, wondered greatly why the owner should have destroyed so noble a house, and invented many a story to account for it ; but it was really taken down because lord Lilford the owner,

having a large family and another great house, disliked the expense of keeping up two.

On the death of Mr. Johnson the rector of Standish in 1723, who had only occupied the living a year, Mr. Atherton, who considered he had a right to present his successor, wrote the following letter (which is also in the Warrington museum) to the bishop of Chester :

"My Lord, — I take the liberty to inform your lordship (with sorrow for the loss of so valuable a life) that Mr. Johnson, the late incumbent of Standish, is dead, and in consequence thereof that the *quare impedit* and suit in chancery, so far as concerned Mr. Johnson, are abated. I am determined to assert and vindicate my right of presentation to that rectory, and as I have a very great reverence for your lordship, and a just value for our universities, I should be glad to remove all colours and pretences for further suits, and in order to that end am willing to lay my title before your lordship or any person you shall appoint to inspect it. Whatever your lordship may think of my right, I am satisfied you will agree with me that the university has none, for how do they claim? In consequence of Mr. Standish's recusancy? but he is attainted of high treason, incapable of any property right, trust, or interest, and all his estate since the forfeiture is sold to one Mr. Biscoe. Suppose, then, my title to be dubious, surely upon all events the university can have none, for this reason, either Mr. Biscoe has bought Mr. Standish's estate for himself *bonâ fide*, or in trust for Mr. Standish. If the first be supposed (admitting my title to be of no value) the right of presentation belongs to Mr. Biscoe, or on the other hand, if the estate was bought in trust, the sale was absolutely null and void, and the right of presenting remains in the crown. I mention this, not because I have any distrust or diffidence of my own title, but in order to lay before you the invalidity of the university's right. Your lordship sees with what candour and fairness I have expressed myself, and I don't doubt but I shall receive as fair and candid an answer which I have to hope and expect, and am your lordship's most dutiful and obedient humble servant,

RICHARD ATHERTON.

Preston, Jan. 12, 1724."

Mr. Atherton did not succeed in presenting his nominee to Standish, though the reason does not appear.

On the 19th December 1724 Mr. Atherton, having made his will, died on the 14th November 1726 at the early age of 26, and was buried in the family burial place at Leigh. His family seem to have been a short-lived race. His father and grandfather had both died early, and at his death three generations had all been born and died in seventy years.

He left only one child, a daughter, Elizabeth Atherton.

CHAPTER V.

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ELIZABETH ATHERTON, who upon the death of her father succeeded to the estates of Bewsey and Atherton, was born about the year 1721, and was consequently under age when her father died. About the year 1738 she married Robert Gwilym esquire of Langston and Walford in the county of Hereford, and afterwards in her right of Bewsey and Atherton.

On the 10th March 1743 the memorable lease for two hundred years of the Warrington rectory, which was the result of a corrupt bargain between the patron and Edward Keble the rector in 1543, expired. While it lasted the rector was reduced to a mere stipendiary, and its expiration placed rector Haddon in full possession of an ample benefice.

In 1755, the first act having been obtained for making the Sankey canal, the house at Bewsey, which must have been disturbed by the progress of the work and its nearness to the hall, has ever since been interfered with and rendered a less quiet retreat.

In 1756 the first stage waggon between London and Kendal was established, and the traffic from Warrington, hitherto carried on by pack-horses, began to be transferred to wheels; and the next year, on the 9th June, the "Warrington flying stage coach" was announced to run from the Red lion in Warrington to the Bell inn in London, taking three days on the road.

Like the rest of her family Mrs. Gwilym's life was very short. She died in 1763, being little more than 40 years of age, and was buried at Leigh. The following were the children of her marriage with Mr. Gwilym :

- (1.) Richard Atherton Gwilym, who died young.
- (2.) Robert Vernon Atherton Gwilym, second son, who succeeded his mother, born 8th September 1741.
- (3.) Elizabeth Goldsmith Atherton Gwilym, who married Lawrence Rawstorne esquire of Newhall.
- (4.) Jane, who died young.
- (5.) William Atherton Gwilym, who died young.
- (6.) Thomas Symonds Atherton Gwilym, who died young.
- (7.) Charlotte, who died young.
- (8.) Frances, who died young.

Mr. Gwilym survived his wife and afterwards married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Aldersey esquire, controller of the customs in the port of London, and died in 1776, leaving by his second wife an only son, Richard Gwilym esquire, who lived long a respected inhabitant of Bewsey, where he filled the office of an active justice of the peace, and from which place he was appointed high sheriff in 1796. On the 24th June 1813 Mr. Gwilym laid the first stone of a new bridge at Warrington. This bridge having been since taken down the inscription which had been placed under it was found and is now in the Warrington museum. On his death the following inscription to his memory was put up in Warrington church :

" This Monument  
is erected by the friends of the late  
Richard Gwilym, of Bewsey, Esquire,  
at once to commemorate the value of his character,  
and to record their deep sense of the loss  
which, in common with all his family,  
and with the publick,  
they have sustained by his death.  
He was the son of  
Robert Gwilym, of Langston, in the county of  
Hereford, Esquire,  
and of Elizabeth his wife, daughter of

Richard Aldersey, of Liverpool, Esquire.

In that awful season of difficulty and of danger,  
when England was threatened by foes, both foreign  
and domestic,

with activity and filial fidelity  
he served her both by his head and hand,  
ably filling a distinguished place in the Civil  
and Military Commissions of his native County.

As a magistrate, diligent and inflexible,  
the firmness of his character was tempered by humanity,  
and his affections regulated by justice.

As a private man,  
he was generous, frank, and benevolent,  
abounding in all the charities of social life,  
and united with those who were nearest to his heart  
by every endearment of tenderness and love.

In religious profession,  
as he was steadfast in the faith, so he  
reverenced the Forms and Establishment of the  
Church of England.

In political principle,  
he upheld the Constitutional prerogatives of the  
British Crown.

On these settled convictions he formed his life  
by the zealous maintenance of his country's laws, and  
the practical exercise of her religion,  
exhibiting the consistent character of an English  
gentleman.

His perishable remains are interred  
in the Burial Ground of the British Factory, at  
Leghorn,  
the nearest Protestant Cemetery to the Baths of Lucca,  
whither he had been drawn by the calls of domestic  
affection,

and where he died, after a short illness,  
July 18th, Anno Domini 1818,  
in the 51st year of his age.

His spirit is with the spirits of the just ;  
His memory and his example are with us." \*

\* Two persons of this name have obtained a place in literature : John Gwilym, the author of a good book on heraldry, who was of a Herefordshire family; and David Gwilym the Welsh poet, who has been called the Ovid or Petrarch of Wales.



## CHAPTER VI.

ROBERT VERNON ATHERTON GWILLYM, sometimes called Robert Vernon Atherton Atherton esquire, succeeded to the Bewsey and Atherton estates on the death of his mother in 1763, when he was about 22 years of age. As he was the first of his family to use the Vernon name we may fairly ascribe to him the abundance of those medals of admiral Vernon which have been found sown as it were broad-cast in this neighbourhood in almost every variety of metal. Several of these in brass, iron and lead may be seen in the Warrington museum. They were all intended to proclaim the glory of the admiral, who appears in these verses of *Hosier's Ghost* by Glover :

“ As near Porto Bello lying  
On the gentle swelling flood  
At midnight with streamers flying  
Our triumphant navy rode ;  
There, while Vernon sat all glorious  
From the Spaniard's late defeat,  
And his crew, with shouts victorious,  
Drank success to England's fleet ! ”

But Vernon appears also in some satirical verses of the time, which probably allude to his failure at Carthage and attribute it to his want of support :

“ Brave Vernon resolve deir proud enemies' ruin,  
But instead of sending any forces unto him  
Both the Spanish and the French fleet were let loose to undo him.”

The medals of him which are most common have on the obverse a three-quarters' length figure of the admiral standing with his face to the spectator and holding in his hand a telescope, with a fort on his left over which is written "Fort Chagre," and on the right a flourishing tree. "Underneath his figure is the inscription: "The Hon. Edward Vernon, Esq.," which is thus continued round the edge of the medal, "Hath once more revived British glory," which is again continued on the reverse over a harbour flanked by two forts, before which, ranged in a double line, are six ships and the words, "By the taking of Porto Bello with six ships only, Nov. 22nd, 1739." The admiral, whose fame was so trumpeted, was in some way allied to the Atherton family. For once however the blast of his trumpet proved false, for when, two years afterwards, he sailed to take Carthage and was foiled in the attempt, the medals he had taken with him to celebrate his success proved like those of the first Napoleon, struck when meditating his attack on England from Boulogne, which bearing the words "struck at London" only exposed their author to ridicule. The Carthage medals, some of which like those of Porto Bello got into circulation, are a greater curiosity than the latter.

On the 25th February 1763 Mr. Atherton married at Winwick church Henrietta Maria, eldest daughter and coheir of Peter Legh esquire of Lyme. He celebrated his accession to the Bewsey estates by building a substantial bridge over the Sankey brook at Bewsey and inscribing on it his name.

On the death of rector Haddon Mr. Atherton, on the 7th February 1767, presented his kinsman William Farrington, a member of the Worden family who had been many years vicar of Leigh another of the family livings, to the rectory of Warrington; but he held this only a short time, for on the 3rd August 1767, less than six months after his appointment, he died, and the rectory was again vacant. His wife, who survived him, died at Hoddesdon, and was buried at Broxburne in Hertfordshire on the 2nd December 1794, and his son Richard Farrington became rector of St. George's in the East, London. There

is extant in MS. a volume of the father's sermons preached at Leigh in 1745-46, which, it has been well observed, "show him to have been an able controversialist, who, like Bolton, 'bated not an ace to popery,' but seem to show also that the spirit of the times [which it must be remembered were those in which an attempt was made to bring back the Stuarts] had absorbed also the old devotional writing." After his death another volume of his sermons was published, which show that he was a man of considerable power, who had a leaning towards metaphysical inquiry. The volume was popularly ascribed to his successor in the living of Warrington, but, as it would appear, without any further foundation than that the latter, with a view of lessening the pecuniary loss the family had sustained by his death, had assisted them to prepare the work for the press. Upon rector Warrington's death Mr. Atherton, on the 14th September 1767, appointed to the living of Warrington the rev. Edward Owen, who since the 4th September 1757 had been head master of Boteler's free grammar school, an office which he had filled for ten years with great success and which he continued to hold after he was appointed to the rectory.

In 1774 Mr. Atherton, by Mr. Legh's interest, was elected and sat as member of parliament for the borough of Newton until the year 1780, but in the new parliament called in that year he did not seek re-election. On the 20th September 1779 he had the misfortune to lose his wife.

Like the rest of his family Mr. Atherton died at an early age. His death happened on the 9th July 1783 at Hières in France, whither he had gone in hopes to benefit by a change of climate. Mr. Atherton, or Mr. Gwillym as he was often called, is honoured with this favourable notice in *Characteristic Sketches* (the author of which is supposed to have been the rev. Mr. Seddon of the academy), published in 1779: "Plutarch," says the author, "tells us that Paulus Æmilius from his youth made a very distinguished figure in life. No man was better born, in consideration whereof he never could be prevailed upon to caress the vulgar,

or stoop to those insinuating arts by which many gain popularity. Notwithstanding those exalted ideas he was careful even about trifles, insomuch that when he entertained the Greeks they were astonished that a person reputed for actions so noble should be solicitous to observe decorum in matters of so minute a nature. He had always the happiness to be the most pleasing sight to those he entertained, nor did men less praise his accomplishments than his liberality and other virtues. To this relation the artist has paid proper respect, for while we regard Æmilius in a private character all those amiable virtues we ascribe to him in this line are most expressly featured. But when we consider him in his public capacity, which the understanding countenance bespeaks him able to fill with honour and reputation, there seems to be an unpardonable indolence of temper. This we attribute to the painter's want of breadth, which he could not be persuaded to rectify by frequent exercise, or his performance in consequence would not be liable to the least objection."

The issue of Mr. and Mrs. Atherton were as follow :

(1.) Atherton Legh Gwilym, who was born 4th June 1768, and died a bachelor in France 29th March 1789.

(2.) Robert, who was born in October 1769, and died in June 1773.

(3.) Henrietta Maria, who was born about June 1772, and ultimately succeeded to the estates.

(4.) Elizabeth, who was born in October 1773, and married her cousin George Anthony Legh Keck of Bank in Bretherton, the son of James Anthony Legh Keck by Elizabeth Legh. She died 21st January 1837, aged 64.

(5.) Hester, who was born in July 1776, and married in October 1800 the rev. James John Hornby, rector of Winwick.

(6.) Frances, who was born in February 1777, and died in January 1779.

(7.) Legh Egerton, who was born 15th January 1778, and died in November 1779.

## CHAPTER VII.

HENRIETTA MARIA ATHERTON, who was born in June 1772, next succeeded to the Bewsey and Atherton estates, and was still a minor when by the death of her brother Legh Atherton, at the early age of 21, the estates devolved upon her under the provisions of the family settlement.

On the 5th December 1797 she married the honourable Thomas Powys, eldest son and heir-apparent of Thomas lord Lilford, first baron Lilford of Lilford in the county of Northampton, an ancient family who, though but lately ennobled, had found in the law a path to wealth and position. Sir Thomas Powys, who was attorney-general on the trial of the seven bishops, was his direct ancestor. (Collins's *Peerage*, vol. viii. p. 577; Froude's *Hist. Eng.*, vol. ii. p. 374, &c.) The marriage of Mr. Powys with Miss Atherton was solemnized at Penwortham.

On the death of his father on the 26th January 1800, Mr. Powys succeeded to his father's title, and he and his wife became lord and lady Lilford. In consequence of his lordship having a family house at Lilford and his lady having also a great house at Atherton they seldom if ever made Bewsey their home. Lord Lilford was an amiable and accomplished person, wrote verses with ease and grace, was a good musician, and bad music so grated on his ear that once, after hearing Braham sing out of tune in an oratorio, he uttered the following impromptu :

“Heav’n remember Braham,  
Bid him amend his ways,  
Bid him hold his tongue,  
And never sing thy praise.”

But the following verses, in a more serious vein, which fell from his pen after his escape from death by the fall of a chimney upon the bed at Winwick hall, in which, but for a seeming accident which kept him from retiring at his usual hour, he would have been lying at the time. The verses have never before appeared in print :

*Lines written on the stormy night of the 5th December, 1822, when the writer was preserved from injury under circumstances of imminent danger.*

“The morning passed in thoughts of anxious care,  
The evening cheerful smiled o’er friendship’s board ;  
And kindly talk and tempered mirth were there,  
Fearless, not thoughtless, as the tempest roared.

Still as the gust with more imposing swell  
Rocked the frail earth, and o’er each dwelling broke,  
Suspended words, and eyes upraised would tell  
That in each breast the awful voice had spoke.

Cautious and slow along the darken’d way,  
Each guest went homeward with awakened fear ;  
As storm-tost mariners returning, pray  
To clasp in safety all the heart holds dear.

I to my friend of friends, and much loved hearth  
Had made, in trembling haste, my glad return ;  
Him his dear partner hailed with playful mirth,  
And wit’s reviving embers clearly burn.

O’er the pure surface of that virtuous heart  
A ray of heaven had shot unusual light ;  
As though the angelic mission would impart  
Prophetic safety through that awful night.

And now unwelcome midnight closed the scene,  
Unconscious, each the friendly hand had pressed,  
Each wished for day, and prayed the space between  
In peace and safety might to each be blest.

Then was Thy mercy awfully disclosed,  
 Plain that this heart's dull intellect might see,  
 And has Thine arm, Jehovah ! interposed,  
 To save the crushing of a worm like me ?

There, in that chamber, o'er the vacant bed,  
 Were thrown the fragments of the ruined wall,  
 There, where had rested safe this pillowed head,  
 Lay massy warnings of the midnight fall.

O teach me, Lord, to read Thy voice aright,  
 My slumbers break, my rising pride control ;  
 Oh, had I perished in that awful night !  
 Oh, had that awful hour required my soul !

Sin unrepented, heart not fixed above,  
 Will unsubdued, desire unsatisfied,  
 Affections wandering, strangers to Thy love,  
 Oh, I might then eternally have died !

Those children, sunshine of a parent's day,  
 Again had sunk their heads in darkest woe,  
 Again had trod affliction's painful way.  
 Led by no parent's guardian hand below.

Oh, Father ! haste to help us ; Saviour, come !  
 Daily in each the inward life renew.  
 Great Spirit ! keep us from th'eternal doom ;  
 He spared the life, to whom the life was due."

To show the readiness with which his thoughts flowed in verse  
 the following lines, which like the former have never appeared in  
 print, are also given :

*To the Memory of Mrs. —, a most benevolent lady.*

" These are the frail memorials of a kind  
 And cheerful spirit, forty years a wife,  
 Mother's sweet title owned she not, but found  
 Children in all the families of want.

Hers was the social warmth that glads the heart,  
And knits the bonds of charity below ;  
And hers was life's enjoyment, offering still  
The tribute of her happiness to heaven.  
They praise the giver best, who use the gift  
With grateful gladness, and exhibit here  
The proof most sensible that God is good.  
Doubt not His goodness, thou whose arm no more  
Sustains thy partner's steps, thy wound is deep,  
Not cureless ; for not e'en a sparrow falls  
Without Him to the ground ; and thou and I  
Weep not unseen ; our Father is in heaven."

Lord Lilford, who had more good houses than he could inhabit or keep up, finding the great hall at Atherton very expensive determined to take it down, and in less than a century after its erection this vast pile with a frontage of more than a hundred feet, which had cost 63,000*l.*, was entirely pulled down and removed. A beautiful bridge called the Lion's bridge alone remains to mark the approach to the site of this once magnificent building. The people who love marvels wondered that its owner should thus have doomed its destruction, and believed that he did so because while it stood the government exacted a tribute from him in consequence of the assistance his ancestor had afforded to the pretender in 1745. Both the young pretender and the duke of Cumberland, his ruthless foe, visited Atherton hall in the "'45 ;" but lord Lilford saw in his numerous family a better reason for taking down an expensive and unnecessary house which stood at such a distance from his own family residence.

Lady Lilford died on the 11th August 1820, and his lordship on the 4th July 1825. They left a very numerous family, of whom the eldest,

(1.) The honourable Thomas Atherton Powys, succeeded to the title and estates.



(2.) The honourable and right reverend Horace Powys, formerly rector of Warrington and now bishop of Sodor and Man.

(3.) The honourable Henry Littleton Powys, late a major in the army, who took the name of Keck in compliance with the will of his uncle George Anthony Legh Keck esquire.

(4.) And several daughters.

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